AN INTERNATIONAL DAILY NEWSPAPER

WEDNESDAY, MAY 12, 1993

75¢ ($1.00 CANADIAN)

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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VOL. 85, NO. 116

LOU DEMATTEIS/FILE

Digging Up the Past

US Army Sgt. Steven Thompson (left) and Chief Warrant Officer Thomas McKay (far right) interview a Vietnamese civilian in Sept. 1992 near the last sighting, in 1969, of a US MIA soldier. Increasing cooperation from Vietnamese officials and citizens has encouraged the US. **PAGE 7.**

WAITING ON SERBS

UN, West Resort To Patience In Bosnia Crisis

Preparations to set up 'safe areas' continue

By Lucia Mouat

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

FOR now, all the tough talk about Western military moves to prod Bosnian Serbs to stop fighting and accept an international peace plan has given way to a waiting game.

While Serbs and Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina observed one fragile cease-fire, and Croats and Muslims broke another, the world community watched to see how Bosnian Serbs will respond to increased political and economic pressure from Belgrade and how they will vote in an upcoming peace referendum.

Bosnian Serbs are scheduled to vote on the Vance-Owen peace plan May 15-16. The self-styled Bosnian Serb parliament rejected the plan May 5 despite pleas from Belgrade to support it.

Bosnian Muslim and Serb military leaders were expected to begin negotiating May 12 on terms for the demilitarization of Sarajevo, Tuzla, Gorazde, and Bihac. These are the last of a group of six Muslim enclaves in Bosnia declared "safe areas" by the United Nations Security Council May 6.

Meanwhile, the Council was expected to meet May 12 to consider setting up an international tribunal to prosecute individuals for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia. **(UN relief efforts stymied by sanctions, Page 6.)**

European foreign ministers, meeting in Brussels May 10, formally rejected US proposals for military intervention until after the Bosnian Serb referendum. President Clinton says he will not act unilaterally. But getting UN support will not be easy. Britain, France, and Russia have strong

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World Looks to Actions by Clinton For Help in Economic Rebound

By Amy Kaslow

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

WHILE President Clinton struggles to gain domestic support for his economic agenda, his pending package of budget and tax proposals is winning strong endorsements abroad.

The overseas reaction is a combination of "misery loves company" and a plea for help that asks the United States to redress its own troubles in order to ensure that the global recession does not continue. But while there is international agreement on the benefits of fiscal accountability, there is disagreement over whether a US government stimulus package is advised.

America's leading industrialized partners are profoundly affected by many of the same problems impacting the US economy: mounting budget deficits, persistently high unemployment, and trouble stimulating growth in the short-term without jeopardizing long-term potential.

Embarking on difficult economic choices themselves, European, Japanese, and Canadian leaders want the US to make the same politically challenging shift they now face: imposing fiscal discipline, and in some cases, higher taxes. Without Washington's resolve, they say, their own emergence from recession will prove more difficult.

"The process of synergy is important," says French Minister of Finance and Economy Edmond Alphandéry. What he holds as essential for a world economic rebound mirrors Clinton's prescription for a more robust US economy: trimming federal deficits, enacting tax policies that favor investment, retargeting public spending to "investments" such as public works, and reducing interest rates. Passage of Clinton's economic plan is imperative, he says.

Leading global finance organizations, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, whose boards reflect the views of their richest and most powerful members, also urge Washington to act quickly. IMF managing director Michel Camdessus favors Clinton's fiscal policy as a way to strengthen savings and investment, but he says the White House should push to slash the deficit by twice as much as Clinton's envisaged $500

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L.A. Has Second Thoughts On Year-Round School, But Idea Gains in Nation

By Scott Armstrong

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

VAN NUYS, CALIF.

FOR Paras Maniar, going to school year-round means he can spend more time skiing in the winter, since he gets a longer-than-usual break in January.

But it also means he has to spend more time in the classroom in summer, when it can be Tabasco hot in uncooled buildings here in the San Fernando Valley.

"It can get really nasty when you are trying to learn quantitative math and you're sitting there sweating," says the 10th-grader from Van Nuys High School.

In other words, Paras Maniar is ambivalent about year-round schools – as is, it seems, much of the United States. The traditional academic calendar, in which students have three months off in the summer, is still the preferred choice in more than 95 percent of the nation's school districts. But a growing number of

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Paraguay's Transition
In first free vote in 180 years, the ruling party wins the presidency, but the opposition controls congress.
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New Jersey Vaunts Its 'Video Valley'
A high-tech corridor through the state's heartland is becoming a mini Silicon Valley.
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On the Roster At Cannes
The world film festival, which kicks off tomorrow, features works by top international auteurs.
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N. KOREA JOINS IN A TRILATERAL DEAL

China, Russia, and North Korea have agreed to give long-term land leases to foreigners to attract investment for a proposed economic development zone on their borders, the United Nations said May 11. An international, independent corporation will be set up, starting June 12, to manage the industrial zone in the Tumen River delta, which straddles the borders of the three nations. The 38,600-square-mile project, estimated to need $30 billion investment over 20 years, would be the first major effort in Asia to introduce Western capital and technical know-how in largely underdeveloped socialist territory. Also participating in the project are Mongolia and South Korea. The agreement was reached May 9 in Pyongyang, North Korea's capital, at a time of rising tensions in northeastern Asia over North Korea's decision to drop out of an international nuclear-control accord.

US water cited

More than 800 drinking-water systems around the United States fail to protect tap water from excessive lead, the Environmental Protection Agency says. EPA monitoring conducted between last July and December found lead above what it considers a safe level in 819 systems that serve 30 million people. An additional 1,100 water systems did not complete EPA's required monitoring and will be subject to enforcement action, the agency said. A list of those systems was not immediately available.

Whale sanctuary gains

A French plan to create a whale sanctuary in the Antarctic Ocean passed a preliminary hurdle May 11 at the International Whaling Commission in Kyoto, Japan, when the commission's technical committee approved it. The full commission must still review the plan, which prompted a new Japanese threat to quit the group. Although whaling is economically insignificant in Japan, the government has called for resumption of commercial whaling. Norway, which is resuming whaling despite a moratorium imposed by the commission, also is pressing for an end to the ban. Iceland, which quit the group last year over the ban, says it is considering resuming whaling.

Australia challenges US

Australia will confront the US over recent heavy subsidies to its cotton exports, a senior government minister said May 11. Primary Industries Minister Simon Crean told parliament US subsidies could seriously damage Australia's cotton industry and were not justified. He said he would raise the issue during bilateral trade talks with the US later this month.

Fire in Bangkok

An inferno in a doll factory on the outskirts of Bangkok killed at least 160 people May 10 and injured more than 400 others, the government said. Nearly all the victims were women. Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai said he would direct officials to find out whether the doll manufacturer had complied with regulations.

Turkey, Russia cooperate

Turkey and Russia, which once faced off in rival blocs, agreed May 11 to cooperate in military education and the defense industry. Turkish Defense Minister Nevzat Ayaz, who signed the agreement with his Russian counterpart, Pavel Grachev, said that the agreement would enable the two nations to get familiar with each other's military abilities, according to the Anatolia news agency. Turkey produces fighter jets, frigates, submarines, and armored vehicles under Western licenses and also seeks Russian technology for hardware production.

EC unemployment up

Unemployment in the European Community continued to rise in March, creeping up to 10.2 percent on a seasonally adjusted basis from 10.1 percent in February, the EC statistics office said. Britain has 11.3 percent unemployed, Ireland 18.4, Spain 20.9.

– Compiled by David Mutch

NATIONAL

Packwood Case Raises New Issue: Is Honesty Required of Politicians?

By John Dillin
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

SHOULD lying to the voters get a politician sacked?

Sen. Bob Packwood (R) of Oregon is wrestling with 250 voters back home who say that during last year's elections, he lied to them about charges of sexual misconduct. Now those Oregonians want Senator Packwood thrown out of Congress.

Katherine Meyer, an attorney working to oust the senator, says the people of Oregon are convinced that "Mr. Packwood stole the ... election" by misleading voters.

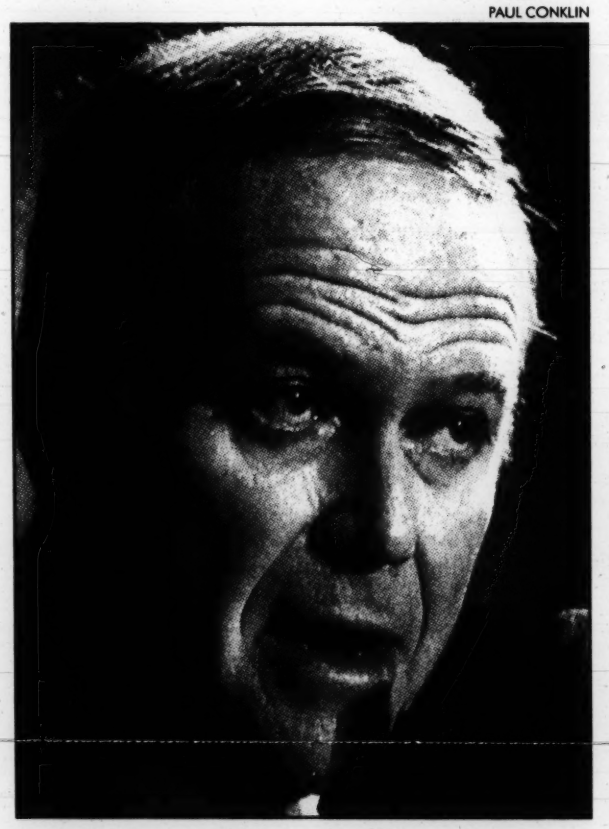
James Fitzpatrick, an attorney representing Packwood, denies that. He claims Ms. Meyer's group is trying to "turn elections into a giant game of 'gotcha.' "

The two sides swapped charges this week at hearings before the Senate Rules Committee. Members of that committee, along with the Senate Ethics Committee, are exploring different aspects of the explosive case against the senator.

The Rules Committee will decide whether Packwood can be tossed out of the Senate if it can be proved that he lied to reporters from the Washington Post last October, and thereby changed the outcome of the election.

Some senators are clearly uncomfortable with that goal, however. Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D) of California says the charge of lying "clearly opens a Pandora's box," which could see almost every election contested.

PAUL CONKLIN



SEN. BOB PACKWOOD: *A Senate hearing has taken up sexual misconduct charges against the Oregon lawmaker and accusations that he lied to constituents.*

The charges go back to the Post's efforts to explore accusations from 23 women that Packwood made unwanted sexual advances between 1969 and 1990. Shortly before election day, the Post reportedly confronted Packwood with the charges. He allegedly denied the charges, and the paper held its story.

The Post finally ran its story three weeks after the election. Packwood, who had won by a narrow margin, then admitted that he had done something that was "just plain wrong" and apologized.

Meyer's group claims the senator lied to the Post to throw the news media off the story, and therefore committed fraud.

Mr. Fitzpatrick denies that Packwood lied. In support of his argument, he quotes an editor at the Post who says that prior to the election, the newspaper's story still needed "much more reporting, writing, and editing," and was not ready to publish.

The Packwood case will ultimately go to the Ethics Committee to determine possible punishment on the sexual misconduct charges. However, the Rules Committee's consideration of the charge of lying is a unique twist in the history of congressional discipline.

Earlier congressmen have lost their jobs for other kinds of deceit – vote fraud and bribery, for example. But lying to reporters is hardly an indictable offense in this city.

Political veterans admit they find this case confusing. Robert Holsworth, a political scientist at Virginia Commonwealth University, says it's the job of the press and the public to ferret out lies before the election, not to punish them afterwards. "It would be a very unusual precedent if people are removed from office after a campaign for lying because they stretched the truth, or told outright falsehoods, during the campaign," Dr. Holsworth says.

"By that standard, one would have to remove a good percentage of the politicians, and one would spend a lot of time trying to distinguish between ignorance and falsehood."

Holsworth suggests there is a difference between what Packwood said, and what he did. His sexual behavior, if inappropriate, may be punished severely by the Senate, the professor says. But removing Packwood from office for lying to the press could be "inimical to democracy."

Larry Sabato, a political scientist at the University of Virginia, also has doubts. The real solution, he says, is to recall the senator, if the voters in Oregon are unhappy with him.

Oregon officials say their recall laws do not cover federal officials, but Dr. Sabato says unsympathetically: "That's life. We don't apply laws retroactively. Oregon could use this new event to pass new laws."

Nor is it feasible to determine whether Packwood would have lost without lying, Sabato says. "How can anyone decide whether a lie changed the outcome of this election? It's a terrible thicket."

Stephen Hess, a scholar at the Brookings Institution, is more sympathetic to the Oregon voters, however.

"We may be entering a new era" in defining fraud, Mr. Hess says.

It's one thing to "lie" about policy – for example, by promising "no new taxes," or promising not to send troops into Vietnam. Those are serious changes in direction, but a politician must be allowed to change his mind.

It may be different, however, if a politician lies blatantly about his personal history, especially if the lie helps him win.

"This is a question of 'What is fraud?' " Hess says. Buying votes is fraud. Stuffing ballot boxes is fraud. Both can be used to deny a senator his seat. So what about lying for votes? Hess asks.

The Battle Over Student Loans

Financial institutions launch a lobbying blitz as Congress considers federal funding

By Linda Feldmann
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON

GEORGIA FORTENBERRY, the financial aid director of Bethany College in Scotts Valley, Calif., is ready to head for Washington as soon as she gets the call.

Ms. Fortenberry believes the Clinton administration's plan to institute direct government financing of student loans – thereby eliminating the bankers' middleman role – is a bad idea, and she wants to say so to her representatives in Congress. The call she's waiting for is from the California Higher Education Loan Association, a secondary loan market, which, along with other banking groups, offered last week to finance a trip here.

"I am not colored by who's paying," Fortenberry says. The point, she says, is that their interests converge, and her small college can't afford to send her to Washington on its own.

The financial institutions currently profiting from student loans hope to send many like Georgia Fortenberry to Capitol Hill as part of an intense lobbying effort against direct government lending to students.

Banks, guarantee agencies, and secondary markets, which make hundreds of millions of dollars under the current setup, have much to lose if President Clinton's proposal goes through.

Under the current guaranteed loan system, the government pays banks a fee to make low-interest loans to students, pays the interest on the loans while the students are in school, then pays for defaults. The cost to the federal government annually is $5 billion.

Mr. Clinton wants the government to lend money directly, which it may be able to do more cheaply than profitmaking institutions. Colleges would originate loans themselves, or if they were unwilling or unable to, the government would hire a contractor to handle that role. Loans would be serviced by a small number of contractors monitored by the Education Department.

To Bethany College's Fortenberry, there's nothing to be gained by changing a system she says already works well for her. And the notion of having to deal directly with the Department of Education puts an edge in her voice. "They rarely if ever return my phone calls as it is," she says.

Savings may result

Proponents of the plan cite the projected savings in eliminating the middle layer of bankers – savings that would translate into lower loan rates for students. In the first four years of the program, during which it would be phased in, the Education Department projects savings of $4.3 billion. After that, savings are projected at $2 billion a year. But the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service says the change would end up costing the taxpayers money because of increased administrative costs.

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

BOSTON UNIVERSITY STUDENTS: *Colleges and students who favor the president's proposal for a new system of government loans find themselves outgunned on Capitol Hill by plan's opponents.*

Congressional aides who back the legislation say support is solid in the House of Representatives and mixed in the Senate, but that Clinton faces a tough battle.

"He's going to have to fight very hard," says Rep. Robert Andrews (D) of New Jersey. The House Education and Labor Committee, of which he is a member, is scheduled to go over the legislation May 12.

A number of universities and student organizations are lobbying in favor of the legislation. But Tom Butts, a lobbyist for the University of Michigan and supporter of the plan, expresses concern that his side is outgunned by opponents.

"The only strength we've ever had on this issue is a good idea, for students, schools, and taxpayers," he says. "We don't begin to have the resources of our opponents."

The banking interests are approaching their task from all angles. In March, more than 100 bankers fanned out across Capitol Hill to lobby members. At the grass roots, opponents of the plan are holding seminars for college officials and sending letters warning of possible consequences.

One letter from Roy Nicholson, chairman of the financial services company USA Group, warns colleges to "consider the potential fallout of direct lending...."

"Will the money be there?" he asks, a common refrain among bankers that has frightened some financial aid administrators into worrying that budget-cutting by Congress could limit aid availability. The Education Department insists that college financial aid will remain an entitlement.

"Can the federal government run the program?" Mr. Nicholson continues. The Education Department acknowledges problems in its past performance, but maintains that the new system, with many fewer participants, will be easier to monitor than the old.

Nicholson also asks whether colleges can "handle the burden and risk of direct lending." Some colleges are concerned they will have to raise tuitions to handle the new program. The Education Department has promised to make the four-year transition as easy and cheap as possible.

Lawrence Hough, president and chief executive of Sallie Mae, the large secondary student loan market, also has been a prolific letter-writer. He and others representing the banking interests are urging college administrators to support legislation that was passed last year to institute a pilot program testing out direct government lending. Some financial aid administrators were insulted by a Sallie Mae letter that implied they weren't up to the task of installing a new program.

Sallie Mae hires lobbyists

One aim of these letters is to get college officials to phone or write their congressmen. But Sallie Mae and the other financial interests are also relying on some of Washington's top lobbyists to take the message straight to Capitol Hill.

That prompted Sen. Paul Simon (D) of Illinois, lead sponsor of the student-loan legislation, to propose an amendment last week to a bill on lobbying that would require more public disclosure of Sallie Mae's lobbying activities.

Sallie Mae and other student-loan banking interests have devised other ways to gain favor with the financial-aid community. Last month, at the board of directors meeting of the National Association of Student Financial Aid Administrators (NASFAA), the opening dinner was sponsored by Sallie Mae and the Texas Guaranteed Student Loan Corporation. The closing reception was sponsored by USA Group.

NASFAA President Dallas Martin says, "I can understand people saying there's an appearance of conflict." But he argues that accepting sponsorship does not affect his group's independence.

In addition, however, many bankers serve on the boards of directors of colleges and universities, a comfortable relationship that may make it awkward for some university administrators to support a change in the system.

Black Parents' Mixed Signals On Education

BLACK parents are more involved in their children's schools and optimistic about their academic futures than white parents, according to a new survey.

But these confident parents are also the strongest critics of the current school system, says the survey by Newsweek magazine and the National Parent Teachers Association (PTA). Twice as many black and Hispanic parents think there is a racial problem in the public schools as white parents. While 61 percent of white parents think their child's school is safe, only 44 percent of Hispanic and 43 percent of black parents are satisfied with school safety.

National PTA President Pat Henry says, "It is a clear example of the indomitable American spirit that those parents who are most optimistic about the future of public education are often the very same families that recognize our failure to meet the needs of America's schools."

■ *Shannon Henry reports from Washington.*

GOP feud lives

The social-issues split within the Republican Party is alive and well. At a forum on the future of the party sponsored by the centrist Republican Majority Coalition, social conservatives like columnist Patrick Buchanan and Rep. Henry Hyde (R) of Illinois mixed it up May 10 with liberals like Sen. Arlen Specter (R) of Pennsylvania and former Sen. Warren Rudman (R) of New Hampshire. Mr. Rudman warned: "We will be the losers," if those on opposing sides of the issue "tear each other to shreds" in 1996, as in 1992.

Justice confirmation

Webster Hubbell's membership in an exclusive country club where Bill Clinton was criticized for playing golf will be aired when the Senate considers his nomination to a top Justice Department post. A golfing buddy of the president and former law partner to Hillary Rodham Clinton, Mr. Hubbell is a member of the Country Club of Little Rock, Ark. Until a black businessman became a member last fall, it was an all-white club.

Conservative activists plan to make that an issue at Hubbell's Senate Judiciary hearing on May 18. It's pay-back time for the right-wingers, still smarting over the fact that Miami Judge Kenneth Ryskamp's membership in an all-white country club helped to sink his appellate court nomination in 1991. But GOP opposition is not expected to derail Hubbell.

– Compiled by Max Boot

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reservations about US proposals such as airstrikes against Serbian targets or lifting the UN arms embargo to assist Bosnian Muslims.

France and Britain, both major contributors to UN peace efforts in Bosnia, are concerned about possible retaliation against their troops and about escalation of the conflict. The Europeans seek deployment of US ground troops in the "safe areas."

The Bosnia debate may spill over to a May 21 Council summit scheduled here for foreign ministers. Russia, acting as president of the Council in May, requested the meeting several weeks ago to talk about UN reform.

The military option

US Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who returned May 7 from a six-day trip to Europe to confer with leaders on possible military moves, says some military action against Bosnian Serbs may be possible under an August 1992 Council resolution that authorizes members to use "all necessary means" to ensure the flow of humanitarian aid in Bosnia.

"Arguably that [authority] could include bombing positions which prevent relief convoys from getting through," says Frederick Kirgis, a law professor at Washington and Lee University in Virginia. "But if the intent is to go further than that – and alter the course of the conflict – I think the US legally would be required to go back to the Council and get new authorization."

Council approval of any specific plan would give the action added credibility and political legitimacy, says Hurst Hannum, who teaches international law at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy.

"I think the fundamental problem facing the US ... is still that no one is quite able to decide why intervention is necessary – whether it is purely humanitarian or more political," Professor Hannum says. "Until someone articulates the difference, widespread support [for intervention] is unlikely."

The Clinton administration has never been a strong supporter of the Vance-Owen map, which would divide Bosnia into 10 largely autonomous, multi-ethnic provinces. After the Bosnian Serb parliament vote May 5, Secretary Christopher said the Vance-Owen option was "closed" and that any further measures against Bosnian Serbs would be strictly "punitive." Yet UN officials and diplomats still view the Vance-Owen plan as viable. On May 7 the Council reaffirmed that the plan remains the basis for Bosnian peace efforts and that implementation planning should continue.

"I think the plan is still alive and will be imposed," Hannum says. But he voices concern that the plan, implemented perhaps after some military action, will unravel in five or 10 years.

Safe havens

Nonaligned members of the Council have been frustrated by the group's failure to take more forceful action in response to "ethnic cleansing" by Bosnian Serbs. Supported by France, these members took the lead in designating six Muslim cities as "safe areas." But the Council authorized only 50 additional observers for the job, even though UN military officials have said 10,000 to 15,000 are needed.

Early press reports indicate that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic's recent decision to cut off all supplies but food and medicine to Bosnian Serbs is taking effect. Yet Bosnian Serb stocks of arms and fuel are said to be ample. The Council has no way to verify that supply lines from Belgrade are down. Some diplomats suggest placing UN monitors along the borders; but for several reasons, including cost and danger, the Council has resisted.

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billion over five years.

US Treasury Undersecretary for International Affairs Lawrence Summers, who resigned his position as the World Bank's chief economist to join the Clinton administration, says the budget cuts go as far as possible without compromising economic growth.

But the IMF dismissed Clinton's $16.3 billion economic stimulus proposal – which has already been shelved by US legislators – as insufficient "to make a material impact," especially since the US economy has begun to make a comeback. The Clinton team, however, is using the recent weak US economic data to lobby Congress for a scaled-down version of a jobs and public works program.

The Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), whose 24 members are the world's wealthiest countries, also urges Washington to take tough fiscal action.

"The choices are limited," for the US, where the economic situation is slowly improving, as well as for Japan and Europe, where the conditions are still deteriorating, says Jean Claude Paye, the OECD's director general.

IN terms of fiscal policy, Mr. Paye says, "there is not much room to maneuver in the traditional way [to generate economic activity with added government spending]" because of large budget deficits.

But at a recent Monitor breakfast, US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown underscored the importance of a stimulus package. The more than 50 percent drop in the nation's output of goods and services during 1993's first quarter from 1992's fourth quarter "reinforces the need for the stimulus," Mr. Brown said. "To argue that this economy has turned around is not an argument," he added.

Without Washington's resolve, other nations argue, their own emergence from recession will prove more difficult.

OECD's Paye offers as a solution: "The only way left is to improve the content – the quality of the budget. There is much to do in this [reallocation] ... it's not spectacular, nor is it easy." Such measures "are difficult to sell in every country," he says.

Budget cuts and tax hikes are not popular, concedes US Labor Secretary and key economic adviser Robert Reich.

"The health of the US economy is vitally important," Mr. Reich told the Monitor. "Our strategy to increase public and private investment is a recipe for continued global growth."

But even given the successful implementation of Clinton's proposals, Reich says, "we're probably not going to be the locomotive anytime too soon." A failure to act, however, means the US will be a drag on global prospects, he says. "If we fail to cut our deficit, we're sucking in capital, and indirectly raising capital costs around the world."

Reich says that "other advanced nations have been arguing for years" that the US must redress its "failure to invest in education, training, infrastructure, and technology, and simultaneously control [government] costs."

This is the first time Americans have had the leadership to respond, he says.

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communities in recent years have been adopting year-round schedules, which stagger more vacations throughout the year, to relieve overcrowding or to improve learning.

Yet even in districts that go year-round, the issue often continues to sow divisions among parents, teachers, and administrators – sometimes even within the same family.

Evidence of the volatility surfaced in Los Angeles again recently when the school board decided to back away from the year-round program it instituted for all schools in Los Angeles County three years ago.

It wasn't a complete retreat. The Board of Education voted to allow parents, teachers, and administrators at most schools to decide on their own if they want to return to a traditional June-to-September calendar. It opted for local choice over another proposal that would have scrapped the year-round calendar altogether at many schools.

Los Angeles isn't the only one to rethink the issue. In Albuquerque, N.M., where one-fifth of the schools operate year-round, administrators are throwing the decision back to local schools. Marion County, Fla., jettisoned the idea in February.

For the most part, though, year-round schooling continues to gain modest momentum. Some 2,000 schools in 26 states operate on a year-round schedule – up from 1,650 schools a year ago and 425 seven years ago.

The idea has been most popular in fast-growing states in the West and South, where districts have not been able to cope with enrollment surges. Certain year-round calendars expand capacity by using classrooms at all times. One typical schedule alternates 90 days of schooling with 30 days of vacation.

By staggering these schedules in four "tracks," officials can keep one-fourth of the pupils on vacation at any one time, freeing up 25 percent more space at a relatively modest cost.

The idea is also championed for academic reasons. Advocates argue students' retention is greater over short breaks. Some districts have reported improved math and reading skills with year-round schedules.

Some teachers like staggered vacations, since it spaces rest time throughout the year, and a few police departments have reported drops in delinquent crime with kids off for shorter summers.

Still, opponents, mainly parents, argue that the schedules destroy traditional summer vacations, complicate extracurricular activities, and disrupt families whose children might be on different tracks.

ALL these arguments, and a few more, have been swirling in Los Angeles for nearly two decades. The board's local-choice compromise coincides with a powerful movement to decentralize authority in the Los Angeles Unified School District. The decision will pose problems, though.

Schools now have only a few weeks to hold votes to decide what they will be doing this fall. Administrators predict a nightmare trying to coordinate busing and various activities if many schools change.

"I'm real concerned we are going to have calendars all over the place," says board member Warren Furutani, who opposed the proposal.

Others argue it is inequitable since about one-third of the schools – mainly in poor, minority neighborhoods – will have to remain on year-round schedules to ease overcrowding.

At Van Nuys High, a buff-colored building in a leafy neighborhood here, magnet program coordinator Joan Martin wonders what will happen to summer school if calendars change, since students are bused to the campus from all over the city for the special program.

Tenth-grader Rahwa Ghebremichael prefers returning to the traditional calendar. Getting an eight-week vacation in the winter, as the current schedule allows, makes it "difficult to remember everything" over the break, he says.

Alon Frydman, a ninth-grader, also likes the old calendar. Squinting into the sun, he says he used to volunteer at a summer camp, something he can't do now with less time off in August.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR®
An International Daily Newspaper
Founded in 1908 By Mary Baker Eddy

(ISSN 0882-7729) (ISSN 0896-551X World Edition) Published daily except Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays by The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, MA, USA, 02115. An activity of The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Massachusetts. Marcas Registradas.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS: In the U.S. and Canada, call toll-free 1-800-456-2220 or write The Christian Science Monitor, P.O. Box 11202, Des Moines, IA 50340-1202. In the UK call 081-543-9393 or write The Christian Science Monitor, Monitor House, 20 Beulah Road, London SW19 3SU England.

Subscription Rates: Daily edition (US only) – 1 year $156, single copy 75¢. Daily edition (UK only) – 1 year $333.30 (£206.65), single copy 80 pence. Daily edition (outside US and UK) – 1 year US$175. World Edition (weekly, not available in the US) – 1 year US$75, single copy US$1.50.

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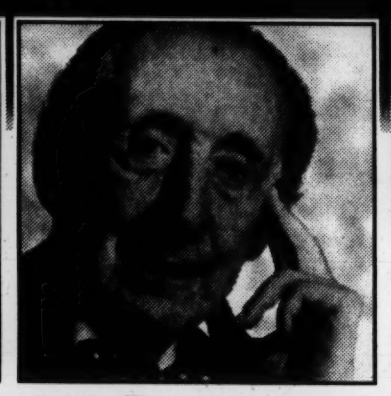

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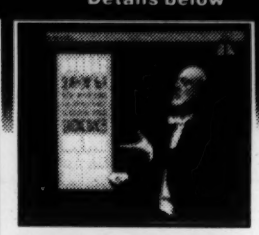

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INTERNATIONAL

Paraguayan Democracy Evolves With Elections

Voters choose ruling party despite calls for change, hints of foul play

DANIEL MERLE/REUTERS

PRESIDENT-ELECT WASMOSY: *He flashes a victory sign with his ink-dipped finger after voting in Paraguay's historic May 9 democratic elections.*

By Alexandra Marks
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

ASUNCIÓN, PARAGUAY

A MIX of anticipation and concern swept through the press room at the Guarani Hotel in Asunción May 9. After a full day of relatively calm and orderly balloting in Paraguay's first, fully democratic elections, it appeared someone was trying to sabotage the process.

The phone lines to the only independent source of poll results had been cut at noon. Despite a request from election observer and former US President Carter to Paraguayan President Andrés Rodríguez Pedotti, they still were not working four hours after the polls had closed.

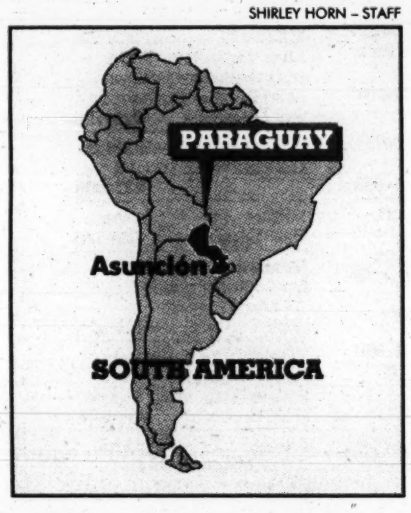
Meanwhile, the streets of this capital had filled up with speeding cars waving red banners, blowing horns, and lighting firecrackers, as supporters celebrated the victory of Juan Carlos Wasmosy, the candidate of the ruling Colorado Party.

"I don't think anyone should be claiming victory," said Mr. Carter with a grimace at 1 a.m. the next morning. "There are still no official returns."

The long, uncertain election night marked a historic turning point in Paraguay's transition to democracy.

For most of the last half century, the country was ruled by dictator Gen. Alfredo Stroessner Mattiauda. His regime was noted for abusing human rights, crippling the economy, and institutionalizing corruption. Since his overthrow in a military coup four years ago, freedom of expression has flourished and with it, a profound desire for change that was

SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



reflected in this presidential campaign.

"I'm 27 years old and I'm voting for the first time," said Liz Franco Marcada. "It's a free vote, without any pressure."

Ms. Marcada's candidate was Guillermo Caballero Vargas, of the National Encounter – a new, independent political movement that in 10 months jumped to the top of opinion polls. As the scion of an old Paraguayan family and a successful businessman, Mr. Caballero Vargas argued he was best suited to complete the transition to democracy because he was free of past political entanglements.

But supporters of the Liberal Party's Domingo Laino contended his political history gave him the advantage. An economist and longtime activist in the Liberal Party, Mr. Laino was a symbol of resistance against Stroessner.

The leaders of the Colorado Party insisted their candidate, Mr. Wasmosy, was the only one who could revive Paraguay, in part because he is a "Colorado." As an engineer, he made his fortune working on Stroessner's Itaipu Dam, a project that brought an estimated $84 billion into Paraguay during the 1970s. It is now the largest hydro-electric plant in the Americas and a source of Colorado Party pride.

"This country needs stability to rebuild its economy," Wasmosy said. "The vast majority of public employees are Coloradans. There will be a great social trauma, an upheaval if there were a sudden change."

But going into the May 9 vote, it looked like Paraguayans were willing to take that risk. Polls showed the independent Caballero Vargas ahead by a solid margin, in part because a bruising primary battle split the Colorado Party's base of support. The loser, Dr. Luis Argaña, publicly campaigned against Wasmosy, charging he won the nomination by fraud. The education minister quit, charging he'd been told to pressure public employees to vote for Wasmosy. The press continually reported Colorado Party violations of elections laws, like using state-owned cars to carry people to political rallies.

The campaign was further frustrated by a loyal Wasmosy supporter, Gen. Lino César Oviedo, leader of Paraguay's most powerful military force. In a statement three weeks before the election, General Oviedo threatened a coup d'état if the Colorado Party did not win.

The heightened political environment prompted all three candidates to urge Carter to join 500 international observers to ensure the elections would be fair.

On May 9, an estimated 70 percent of Paraguay's 1.7 million registered voters went to the polls. For the vast majority, the process was organized and uneventful. They waited in lines, marked their ballots, and dipped their fingers in indelible ink to prevent people from voting twice. There were scattered reports of vote buying, manipulation of the registration lists, and military intimidation from the observers. A judge also ordered the borders closed to Paraguayans living in Argentina and Brazil, preventing them from voting.

CARTER and his group of international observers praised the overall process as an historic event in the evolution of Paraguay's democracy. But they also condemned the closing of the border, and the cutting of the phone lines to the independent vote tabulation center.

"If the election had been quite close, within only two or three points, this could have been a crucial, even fatal error in the honoring of international observation," said Carter.

But the election was not close. Official returns, supported by the independent returns, show the Colorado Party won by a seven point margin. Analysts say it was the triumph of a powerful political machine and a historic tradition that runs deeper than most political affiliations.

President-elect Wasmosy will now have to organize what Robert Pastor of the National Democratic Institute calls a "delicate transition." He must iron out the problems within the party, begin to separate the military from the civilian government, and reach out to the opposition.

Together, the Liberal and National Encounter parties won two-thirds of the legislative seats, making Wasmosy the first president in recent history without an automatic majority in Congress.

Historian Ken Cott of Washburn University in Topeka, Kansas, says if Wasmosy is unable to create a governing coalition, that could create the greatest threat to the continuation of the process of democratization in Paraguay. "I think there will be a lot of Paraguayans, especially Coloradans, who say this is not working, we may need to return to some kind of strong leadership like we had under Stroessner."

UN Sanctions on Yugoslavia Trip Up Its Relief Efforts

By Jonathan S. Landay
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

BELGRADE

AN oversight by the United Nations Security Council may result in a suspension next week of UN aid deliveries to hundreds of thousands of refugees in Bosnia-Herzegovina and the rump Yugoslav union of Serbia and Montenegro.

The snafu stems from the tightening last month of UN sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro as a means of pressuring them into persuading Bosnian Serb leaders to agree to the international peace plan for Bosnia.

Resolution 820 stiffened existing embargoes on trade and the export of petroleum to Serbia and Montenegro and a freeze on financial transactions, and banned the entry into the two Yugoslav republics of commercial vehicles. But the Council failed to include exemptions for humanitarian aid agencies, including its own.

The problems came to light May 10 when UNHCR officials went public apparently out of exasperation with UN bureaucracy.

Because of the oversight, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) operations here have been unable to obtain diesel fuel for trucks and funds transfers from abroad. UN officials say that because of the vehicle ban, at least 87 UN relief trucks bound for Belgrade have been stopped at the Austria-Hungary border and 14 at the Hungary-Yugoslav border.

José Maria Mendiluce, the UNHCR special envoy to former Yugoslavia, estimated that UNHCR operations here will run out of diesel on May 16, halting the convoys that deliver desperately needed food and medical supplies to more than 459,000 refugees scattered in rump Yugoslavia, and to tens of thousands of Muslim civilians trapped by Bosnian Serb forces in eastern Bosnia.

"UNHCR Belgrade fuel stocks will suffice only through May 16. After that date, all aid deliveries, including convoys to Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia, will cease if the fuel import problem is not resolved," said an internal UNHCR memoradum released by Mr. Mendiluce May 10.

The memorandum was highly critical of the implementation of Resolution 820, saying it was done "without consultation with the humanitarian aid agencies and without regard to transitional arrangements."

Ron Redmond, a spokesman for the UNHCR headquarters in Geneva, said a quick solution was needed since it would take at least three days for new fuel supplies to reach Belgrade. He said the UNHCR had already opened talks with the UN committee that oversees the sanctions.

Mendiluce said the the oversight added new difficulties to those the UNHCR was already encountering. As part of an offensive launched May 9 against Bosnian Army forces in the southern city of Mostar, Bosnian Croat militiamen blocked supply routes running from southern Croatia into central Bosnia. Mendiluce said Bosnian Croats beat up 10 UNHCR truck drivers May 10 after firing on their vehicles.

Failing With Stick, US Tries Tact In Urging Ukraine to Cut Nukes

By Chrystyna Lapychak
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

KIEV, UKRAINE

THE Clinton administration is softening the tone of its policy toward Ukraine, acknowledging that United States pressure on this former Soviet republic to ratify two nuclear arms accords and give up its nuclear weapons had backfired.

Ukrainian officials have grown increasingly resentful of the administration's hard-line stance, tying the future of Ukrainian-US relations to Ukraine's ratification of the 1991 Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I), and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

"The results of our visit here demonstrate that a new independent state and new administration have been able to turn over a new leaf in our relations," Strobe Talbott, President Clinton's special ambassador to the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union, told reporters here on May 10 after talks with senior Ukrainian officials, including President Leonid Kravchuk.

"We now have reason to expect a realization by the US of these good intentions. A change was needed," said Deputy Foreign Minister Boris Tarasyuk.

Ukraine is the last of four republics of the former Soviet Union with nuclear weapons that has yet to ratify START I, which would reduce by one-third the nuclear warheads in the US and the former Soviet Union. Ratification of START I by all four successor states – Russia, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan – is a prerequisite for ratification by Moscow and Washington of a follow-up treaty, START II, signed in January, which would eliminate an additional one-third of their remaining nuclear arsenals.

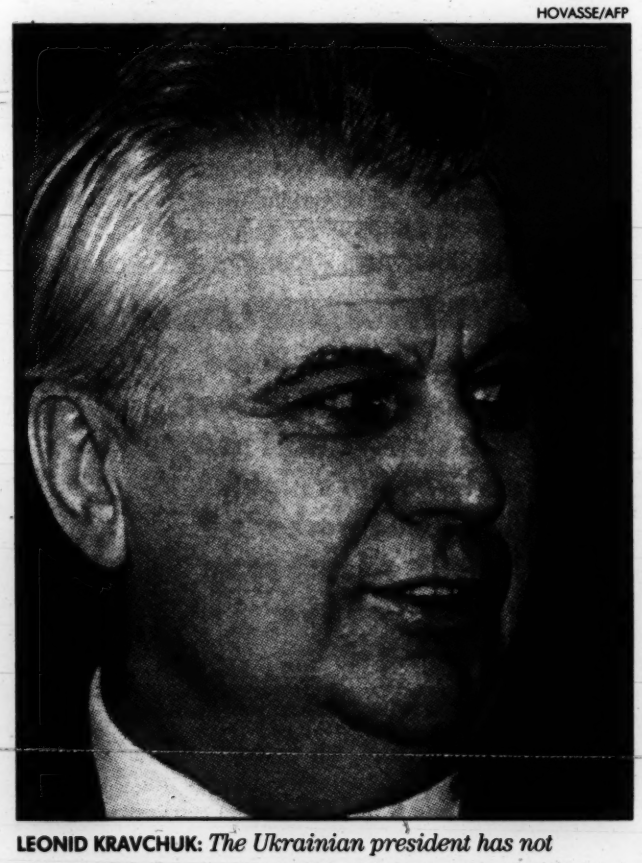
Ukrainian President Kravchuk and other leaders have not abandoned their commitment to ratification of both treaties.

But US and Ukrainian officials acknowledged last week that US pressure and political unrest in Russia have encouraged a growing movement among Ukraine's legislators, now debating the accords, who oppose nuclear disarmament.

A recent debate in the fledgling country's Parliament over Ukraine's military doctrine revealed that while many deputies favor ratification of START I, with certain conditions, a growing number believe Ukraine should not sign the NPT and should keep some nuclear weapons not covered by START I as a deterrent against aggression from an increasingly unstable Russia.

During meetings with visiting Ukrainian leaders in Washington over the last several months, Clinton administration officials have repeatedly stressed that ratification of both treaties was a precondition for better relations and more aid to cash-strapped Ukraine.

HOVASSE/AFP



LEONID KRAVCHUK: *The Ukrainian president has not abandoned promises to ratify nuclear arms reduction treaties, but is under domestic pressure to delay process.*

US irritation surfaced in April when Clinton refused to meet visiting Ukrainian Premier Leonid Kuchma.

"The Ukrainian-American relationship in these last few months has become the hostage of the nuclear issue," said Deputy Foreign Minister Tarasyuk upon his return here last week from meetings in Washington.

"I am deeply convinced that this pressure has caused an increase and a strengthening of the forces who support a nuclear Ukraine. Thus, this pressure has had the reverse effect than the result expected by the US administration," Tarasyuk said.

The debate in Parliament over Ukraine's nuclear status recently showed a disturbing trend among the conservative former communist majority, who distrust the West and many of whom now advocate building up a nuclear deterrent as an inherent part of Ukraine's defense strategy.

"Yes, the US is rudely interfering in our affairs as well as in everyone's affairs throughout the world, because it appears that any point on planet Earth is vitally significant for America," says Gen. Volodymyr Tolubko, a deputy and former commander in the Soviet strategic forces, who leads the pro-nuclear forces in the legislature. This type of growing resentment helped prompt the Clinton administration to review its policy.

"We finally came to a philosophical understanding that we don't understand Ukraine," one US government official said last week. "We've taken Ukraine for granted – it is a lot more complicated in its internal dynamics and in its relations with its neighbors than we expected."

The US administration is clearly hoping to ease Ukrainian fears that it is ignoring Ukraine in favor of Russia and siding with Moscow on the array of military and economic issues that are now the source of tension between the two former Soviet republics.

US envoy Talbott announced that he had reached preliminary agreement with the Ukrainians on several key US proposals, including the idea of a charter of US-Ukrainian relations and a possible Clinton-Kravchuk summit.

He said that the US offer to serve as a "facilitator in the complex relationship between Russia and Ukraine" was greeted favorably by Ukrainian leaders, although neither he nor any Ukrainian officials would reveal the details of the agreement.

In terms of economic aid, Talbott said that the $175 million offered thus far by the US under the Nunn-Lugar Act for Ukrainian disarmament "is a floor and not a ceiling."

Ukrainians have voiced disappointment over that sum, stressing that disarmament would cost billions of dollars, which would shatter their faltering economy.

... Hanoi

While some Vietnamese suspect US is still 'punishing' them for war, sympathy for MIA searches is rising

A QUICK way for an American to lose money in Vietnam often presents itself when someone approaches claiming to have secret evidence of an American soldier missing in action (MIA).

Usually, such "evidence" comes only for a price. To the wise, this is a sure tip-off to a scam. A G.I. dogtag with the name of a soldier can cost you a few dollars. One Hanoi shopkeeper claims to have movie footage of an American pilot being shot down and marched to prison. Price: $100.

But such con games are not typical of how most Vietnamese see the intense concern Americans have about MIAs. The closer the two countries have come to completing the search for information or for the remains of missing American soldiers, the more sympathy can be found among Vietnamese.

"It's mind-boggling how much cooperation we now have from the Vietnamese," says Keith Flanagan, supervisor of "casualty resolution" at the United States MIA office in Hanoi.

Since the two countries began to cooperate in 1988, sending out joint teams to remote spots to search for MIA remains for example, "we've seen a quick change from antagonism to cooperation," Mr. Flanagan says.

When these MIA teams go into villages, the first reaction has often been negative, as reported by Mr. Flanagan. "We've got 300,000 MIAs of our own in Vietnam, why should we be concerned about a few hundred of yours?" the villagers say.

BUT since the Vietnamese are very family-oriented, and not a single family in Vietnam is without a casualty of its own from the "American war," as it is called in Vietnam, they soon begin to understand the feelings of American MIA families.

"Now we are actually getting real remains," Flanagan says, instead of fake remains from profit-seekers.

For various reasons, since the end of the war, the US has refused diplomatic recognition of Hanoi and led a crippling economic embargo against Vietnam. From 1980 to 1989, the main impediment was Vietnam's occupation of Cambodia. But even after Hanoi pulled out its troops, the US continued to demand "the fullest possible accounting" of MIAs.

Hanoi officials, however, don't believe that the MIA lobby in Washington is the real reason that the US still regards Vietnam as an official enemy. They think there are "forces" deep in the US military and foreign policy establishment who want to punish Vietnam for winning the war, for violating the 1972 peace agreements or, as some US officials insist, withholding information on MIAs.

Hanoi has critics of its own with the military who say the US deserves no help on MIAs. "A minority in Vietnam do not want to see normalization," says Ha Huy Thong, a foreign ministry official. "They say, 'The US killed our people,' or they ask, 'What do we get in return for finding MIAs?'

"What's important is that the majority of Vietnamese do understand that this is an emotional and sensitive issue in the US, and that it is good for both governments to cooperate."

Despite steady progress in reducing the number of unsolved MIA cases and strong interest by US firms to do business in Vietnam, Hanoi was disappointed that President Clinton said in April that he would not lift the embargo until "we have gone a long way toward resolving every case that could be resolved at this moment in time...."

But officials here were happy that Clinton said normalization does not require that every case be solved first.

– Clayton Jones

REPORTING UNDER FIRE

Guatemalan Media, Government Share Tentative Truce

By David Clark Scott
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

GUATEMALA CITY

FUNERAL bouquets are no longer arriving at the home of Jose Rubén Zamora, president of the daily newspaper Siglo XXI. Bomb attacks on his associates have stopped. Scolding calls from Guatemalan President Jorge Serrano Elías have ended. Mr. Zamora's shadow, a car with tinted windows and no license plates, has not been seen for a couple of months.

"The situation is measurably better now," he concludes. But for most of the last 12 months Guatemalan journalists have been under siege.

"Death threats, physical attacks by armed bullies, burning of newspapers, dynamite attacks on journalistic installations, and attacks on homes of press individuals are carried out with complete impunity," said the Inter-American Press Association in a March 24 statement.

The Toronto-based Canadian Committee to Protect Journalists cites 50 attacks against Guatemalan journalists in 1992. Given the estimated 350 journalists in Guatemala, the report calls this "perhaps the greatest concentration of threats and attacks that exists in any single country of the world."

Guatemalan journalists operate in a country ravaged by more than three decades of civil war. On May 8, the latest round of peace talks between leftist guerrillas and the government broke off with no progress and no date for further talks. Although democratic elections have been held since 1986, the military remains the nation's most powerful institution, and, according to human rights groups, responsible for the majority of human rights violations. President Serrano claims local and international human rights groups distort the problem.

Serrano once called the news media "the music of democracy," but from early in his administration, the discordant notes coming from Siglo XXI and the other news media were not the kind of "music" Serrano wanted to hear.

Siglo XXI was launched shortly before Serrano took office in 1991 to "test the limits of this new democracy," Zamora says, by tackling government corruption, illegal drug trafficking, and human rights abuses.

"It really began heating up between the government and the local press last year," says George Rodriguez, president of the Guatemala Foreign Press Club. Serrano told editors he and his family were off limits. The military, security forces, and political groups also made their feelings about critical press coverage felt.

A series of incidents brought the issue to a head in December:

- Dec. 2 – Siglo XXI reporter Omar Cano was beaten while investigating illegal lumbering on government lands. Guatemalan Human Rights Ombudsman Ramiro De Leon ruled the military was partially responsible.
- Dec. 13 – At a military ceremony, Serrano announced: "We cannot continue to tolerate insults and a lack of respect for authority from the media."
- Dec. 18 – A journalist and professor was shot and seriously wounded, allegedly by members of the Presidential Guard.
- Dec. 21 – A bomb exploded in the offices of the Association of Guatemalan Journalists.
- Dec. 31 – A fire was set at the printing plant of Tinamit Magazine, which has been critical of the armed forces.

A committee for the defense of Guatemalan journalists' rights was formed in December. Journalists began boycotting coverage of the president. In January, Serrano called a truce, publicly apologizing for the "misunderstanding" that had developed between himself and the press.

But the truce is an uneasy one.

Mr. Cano fled the country in February after receiving death threats. In March, an anonymous group published a "death list" threatening the lives of 24 people, including 10 journalists.

Mr. Rodriquez concludes: "It's quieted down now. But you never know here."

ECONOMY

With a referendum on EC membership expected by 1994, Sweden is weighing the costs and benefits of giving up their 'splendid isolation'

Swedes Seek Answers Before Opting for EC

By Howard LaFranchi
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

STOCKHOLM

FOR Peter Ferneman, the question of whether or not Sweden should join the European Community comes down to a choice between the Swedish snuff he hates to give up and becoming a more active member of the outside world.

"The kind of snuff we have here in Sweden is illegal in the EC, and a lot of people are already saying they don't want bureaucrats in Brussels telling us what we Swedes can and can't do," says the news photographer from Mariestad, a town about 190 miles southwest of Stockholm. "But if we didn't join, we'd be standing outside the world and we can't do that," he adds. "The problems we are facing are the same all over Europe, so we have to face them together."

At the same time as Austria, Finland, and Norway, Sweden is negotiating for membership in the EC – a process expected to take until the end of the year. But with Stockholm committed to a referendum on membership by 1994, Swedes like Mr. Ferneman are already weighing the costs and benefits of giving up what has been called Sweden's "splendid isolation" to join the powerful European bloc to the south.

Crucial factors

Although a vote is more than a year away, officials and analysts here say a number of factors already stand out as crucial in determining Sweden's decision:

- Sweden and Europe's economic picture at the time of the referendum;
- The size of "wealthy" Sweden's net financial contribution to EC coffers;
- The results of negotiations on several sensitive issues of popular interest, including support for agriculture – particularly short-season Nordic agriculture – and the Swedish government's monopoly on liquor sales;
- Public perception of how membership would affect Sweden's generous social benefits;
- And the outcome of Denmark's May 18 referendum on the EC's Maastricht Treaty on monetary and political union.

"Of course our neighbors' actions have an influence on us, especially when it's a neighbor as close in culture and outlook as Denmark," says Ulf Dinkelspiel, Sweden's minister of EC affairs and foreign trade. "That doesn't mean Sweden would do as they do, but a 'yes' vote [in Denmark] would certainly help."

The EC Commission says the four countries now negotiating for membership must do so on the basis of full acceptance of Maastricht – a difficult position to uphold when Denmark is voting on a version of the treaty tailored to Danish concerns after Denmark's original "no" vote last June. But Mr. Dinkelspiel, who is also Sweden's chief membership negotiator, says Maastricht is "not a big problem" for Sweden, since it puts off decisions on most major steps concerning monetary union and a common defense.

Women's place in the economy, family issues such as parental leave, and Sweden's highly developed worker's benefits all face some impact from EC membership.

"We recognize that over time the EC intends to develop a common defense," he says. And although traditionally neutral Sweden refuses to participate in military alliances, "we will not stand in the way of such a development" by Europe. "Time will tell where we end up, but you will see us very active in the debate on European security."

Of more importance, says Dinkelspiel, will be the size of Sweden's financial contribution to the EC – especially as Sweden battles a recession and a huge budget deficit. Fearing the public impact a large contribution would have, Sweden is asking that its payment be phased in.

The image of Sweden contributing heavily to the EC to pay for distant countries' inefficiencies and corruption is strong here. "People are sensitive to the idea that their money might go to pay for housing in southern Italy or roads in Spain that somehow never get built," one official says.

Dinkelspiel says that in the growing number of talks he gives on membership, he stresses the argument that the major issues facing Europe – security, economic growth, the environment, immigration, and Central and Eastern Europe – will be most effectively addressed by "joint international action – and for Sweden, that means the EC."

But other voices caution that Sweden must also consider the price it would pay in lost independence.

Income gaps

"An internationalization of our economy is going to increase the disparities between low and high incomes anyway, but do we want to accelerate the process by joining the EC, where the income gaps are greater?" asks Agneta Stark, an economist and membership "skeptic." "Those are the kinds of questions we need to be answering."

Women's place in the economy, family issues such as parental leave, and Sweden's highly developed worker's benefits, all face some impact from EC membership, Ms. Stark says. "With economic and monetary union, there would be little room to go your own way, so it's important to look at where the others are going," she says. "Their emphasis is clearly on [monetary] stability over employment."

Swedish opinion polls show widespread skepticism about membership.

Dinkelspiel has said women and rural inhabitants will decide Sweden's outcome. Stark agrees – and says it will be sensible arguments rather than threats of "a 'no' leaving Sweden behind" that will convince women voters.

Recalling how women were the force behind Sweden's decision at the height of the cold war to stop developing nuclear weapons, she says, "Women were dismissed then as being unrealistic and unmodern, and now quite a few are saying, 'We are prepared to be unrealistic and unmodern again if we don't get the answers we want.' "

Amid Slump, Germans Learn Hard Lessons

R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF/FILE

PORT OF HAMBURG: *More than half of Germany's exports are bound for European Community nations, many of which are in economic trouble.*

By Francine S. Kiefer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

BONN

HEIDI HÖNES, hotelier in the German spa resort Baden-Baden, recently offered her views on the country's economy along with a breakfast basket of fresh rolls and a soft-boiled egg cooked to perfection.

"We Germans have had it too good, for too long," she told an American couple seated at the table. Too many Germans have gotten used to the high life, she went on. Her hope was that the country's economic recession – being labeled the most severe since the end of World War II – would bring people back down to Earth.

In Germany, where living standards would seem to be measured more by whether there is a Mercedes in every garage than by whether there is a chicken in every pot, the reality of harder times is starting to set in.

This year the number of jobless in Germany will increase by about 550,000 to a high 3.55 million, predicts a report released May 4 by Germany's six leading economic institutes.

The institutes forecast west German economic output falling by 2 percent. Even with a modest recovery in east Germany, the overall economy will shrink 1.5 percent, though recovery should begin in the fourth quarter.

Siegfried Utzig, economist for the powerful Federation of German Industry, the nation's largest industry association, argues that recovery is actually further off than the institutes predict. Because Germany's success is linked to its exports, "the turning point will only take place when exports spring back," he says. He sees little indication that will happen this year.

More than half of Germany's exports are bound for the European Community market, and the economies on the receiving end, such as France, Spain, and Italy, are in trouble.

On May 6 the new French government issued a gloomy assessment of that country's economy, estimating the 1993 budget deficit at twice the amount forecast by the previous Socialist government.

On top of this, German exports are at a price disadvantage because of major currency devaluations that several EC countries took during the European currency crisis last fall. Some economists say Bundesbank, Germany's central bank, caused the crisis by stubbornly holding interest rates high.

The six economic institutes say the Bundesbank failed to cut interest rates quickly and sharply enough to end the recession.

Peter Pietsch, an economist at Commerzbank, says he sees "no alternative to the Bundesbank's policy of small and careful steps" in easing rates. Germany, he argues, still needs a strong mark, and that an abrupt drop in short-term rates now would undermine the mark and adversely affect the long-term bond market.

MR. Pietsch expects further small interest-rate cuts, one at the end of May and another at the end of June.

The reductions so far, the most recent on April 28, have eased the strain in currency markets, with other countries following the Bundesbank's lead. These include France, whose franc appeared on the verge of dropping out of the European Monetary System last fall and winter.

Economists now say the franc is out of danger.

Pietsch argues that sharper cuts in the Bundesbank's short-term interest rates would not have the effect of enticing business to invest, since most businesses in Germany rely on long-term credit for capital spending. Those long-term rates are already at a historical low, he points out.

A "decisive factor" for the economy will be government fiscal policy, says Klaus-Werner Schatz, senior economist at the Institute for the World Economy in Kiel. But he is not optimistic about the possibility of financial discipline in Bonn, which he says is following a course of tax increases to pay for German reunification rather than spending cuts.

The bite of this recession has also renewed debate about Germany's eroding competitiveness. The issue first surfaced in the 1980s, but disappeared again when the economy boomed to serve East German demand.

Worldwide, German workers enjoy among the highest wages, the longest vacations, and the fewest working hours. German corporations also shoulder a comparatively heavy tax burden.

In east Germany, members of the metalworkers union, IG Metall, are striking for wage parity with the west Germans. That employers are resisting their demands for parity shows that firms are taking the competitiveness issue seriously, Pietsch says.

Still, he predicts that when recovery finally does come, the urgency of the issue will subside. In Germany, old habits die hard.

Yugoslav War Spoils Economy in Republic of Macedonia

By Larry Luxner
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

SKOPJE, MACEDONIA

NIGHT after night, the banquet room of Macedonia's largest hotel, the Grand, fills up with wealthy Macedonians who have come to hear sales pitches on time-share apartments in Spain. For these executives, the residences are a hedge in uncertain times. But for this fledgling country, the capital flight adds to a shortage of investment and grim economic conditions. Despite Macedonia's recognition by the United Nations last month as "The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia," (a name arrived at to avoid confusion with the Greek province of Macedonia) there is virtually no foreign investment here.

Economy in transition

"Our economic problems result from the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the war in Bosnia," says Aco Spasovski, an economist with Macedonia's Chamber of Commerce. "We respect the [UN] sanctions against Yugoslavia.... But our economy is suffering a lot."

Meanwhile, about 700 United Nations troops are guarding the country's border with Serbia to prevent the war from spreading to Macedonia.

The loss of trading partners in Serbia and, to a lesser extent, Slovenia and Croatia, has already caused this landlocked nation to lose 70 percent of its export market. Shipments of wine, metal products, textiles, electronics, meat, and vegetables have been devastated.

Real wages have fallen 30 percent, and as many as a tenth of Macedonia's 2 million people have left the country in the last two years.

One electronics company, MZT Oprema, lost 80 percent of its market in the Yugoslav breakup, says engineer Zdravko Sami. The company makes a variety of equipment including satellite dishes.

"The reorientation from a planned economy to a market economy is too difficult for a big company in such a short time," Mr. Sami says. With the sanctions against Serbia, "there's not going to be enough work to continue."

The cigarette industry has been one of the economy's few strengths. Last year its exports were $106 million, helped by strong sales to the former Soviet Union. In return for the cigarettes, Macedonia received Russian oil to help it get through the winter. Macedonia had faced a potential crisis because of Greece's blockade of the country's southern border, a nationalistic move rooted in Greek resentment over the name of the new republic.

Despite the shipments to Russia, the tobacco industry here is struggling. Vidosav Tatomir, chief engineer at the Tuturski Kombinat cigarette factory near Skopje, says a third of the plant's workers have been laid off.

The economic crisis is also affecting health care in the former Yugoslav republic. "We had one of the best medical systems in the world. Now it's impossible [to maintain] because of the economy," laments Health Minister Jovan Tofoski. Of the former Yugoslavia's 16 pharmaceutical factories, "we only have two, ... and they cover only 15 percent of our needs."

Telecommunications investment needed

Even making phone calls in or out of Macedonia is a challenge. The country's main international telecommunications circuits went through Zagreb and Belgrade; those links were interrupted when Croatia and Serbia went to war. The country now depends on a satellite link donated by the Swiss government.

Maksim Angelevski, deputy director of Macedonia's state-owned telephone authority, says his biggest challenge is "connecting ... with European and international networks."

"Now that Macedonia is a member of the United Nations, we hope international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF [International Monetary Fund] will offer us some favorable loans for development, part of which will be directed toward telecommunications," he says.

Several European countries including Britain have recognized Macedonia, and observers expect the European Community and United States to follow suit. The US Agency for International Development now has a full-time representative in Skopje, the capital.

The Garden State Has a Rich Heritage And Natural Beauty

TRENTON, N.J.

THROUGHOUT its history, New Jersey has found itself the target of jokes. A sliver of a territory – the fifth-smallest state in the Union – New Jersey is squeezed between two much larger states, New York and Pennsylvania.

Late-night television comedians love to make jokes about "Joisey" (as a local accent says it) – in large part because of the state's past reputation as a dumping ground for chemical companies and local residents' fondness for the region's ubiquitous diners.

Yet change is clearly evident. New immigrants, many of them Asian and Hispanic, are pouring into the Garden State, pushing the population toward 8 million. Many of the scenic towns, located far from the exhaust fumes and roar of the New Jersey Turnpike, rival New England villages for charm and beauty. A science center for children and adults (one of the largest learning centers of its type in the country), opened this year in Jersey City.

History abounds: The first organized baseball game was played at Hoboken in 1846. George Washington crossed the Delaware River and took Trenton back from Hessian/British soldiers in the American Revolution in 1776. Inventors Samuel F. B. Morse (the electric telegraph), Thomas Edison (the light bulb), and John Holland, (the submarine), created major breakthroughs here.

A major East Coast agricultural producer, New Jersey boasts a 130-mile coastline that includes numerous golden beaches and vacation playgrounds such as Atlantic City and Cape May. The state also has the second highest income level in the United States (after Connecticut) and "more scientists and engineers than any other state on a per capita basis," says George Nagle, director of economic research for the state's department of commerce and economic development.

New Jersey is the center of the US pharmaceutical industry. In addition, the state is home to major financial and insurance companies (such as Prudential), national retailers (The Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company), and communications labs (AT&T).

The state is "fourth in the nation," behind California, New York, and Michigan, in its high-tech employment base, Mr. Nagle adds.

But like many states along the eastern seaboard, New Jersey has been hit hard by the recent economic downturn. Home prices plummeted. Earlier this year the state predicted 2.5 to 3 percent growth. Given national economic sluggishness, the state will do well to make that forecast, Nagle says. Current minimal growth will mean employment gains of only 1 to 1.5 percent, he predicts. That is of little comfort. Unemployment shot from 8.3 percent in March to 9.1 percent in April, the worst among the industrial states.

New Jersey's main region for growth is in the south, Nagle says. Southern Jersey relies on service industries and tourism, both showing continued gains. The north, by contrast, is more linked to manufacturing.

"An economically weak New York City," as at present, "tends to have a negative impact on northern Jersey," Nagle says.

– G. H.

Drawn by universities, major electronics companies and research complexes are turning Route 1 into the most prominent high-tech corridor in the Mid-Atlantic states

New Jersey Quietly Slices High-Tech Base in its Hear

By Guy Halverson
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PRINCETON, N.J.

JIM CLINGHAM is looking forward to May 26. On that day, the nearby township of West Windsor will be the first community in central New Jersey to carry a special sign identifying it as a high-technology community along US 1, the main east-west highway.

Mr. Clingham, who heads a local high-tech group, expects other towns here will soon display similar signs.

US 1 – or Route 1 as most folks here call it – is located just a few miles from downtown Princeton. The highway is becoming the most prominent high-tech corridor in the Mid-Atlantic states, similar to Route 128 in Boston, or Silicon Valley in northern California.

Route 1 slices its way southwest across New Jersey for 20 miles from New Brunswick to Trenton before crossing the Delaware River into Pennsylvania. In the 10- to 12-mile section between New Brunswick and Princeton are found the Johnson & Johnson headquarters, large facilities for Bristol-Myers Squibb, Siemens, the Forrestal (research) Center, the David Sarnoff Research Center, and Dow Jones & Co. A new color printing plant for the New York Times is located north of Princeton, a half hour drive off Route 1.

No overall planning agency

"Route 1 is the classic case of trying to build a 21st century institution on the back of an early 20th century technological community and an early 19th century political environment," says James Hughes, associate dean of the School of Planning and Public Policy at Rutgers University. There is no overall planning agency for the Route 1 corridor, Mr. Hughes notes, reflecting New Jersey's historical distaste for centralized government.

Also along Route 1 are a number of major Japanese and Korean electronics firms, many of them arriving in the past few years. Following NEC in 1988, Matsushita Electronics, Hitachi, Samsung, and others have located nearby.

Dozens of smaller companies are located along secondary roads that intersect Route 1. Many are electronics firms specializing in research on high-definition television. The HDTV research under way here – much of it concentrated at the David Sarnoff Research Center, a subsidiary of SRI International – has branded the region Video Valley.

"The presence of the universities is the key to all the development," says Jay Brandinger, executive director of the New Jersey Commission on Science and Technology, a state agency.

Rutgers, the state university of New Jersey, is located at New Brunswick. Driving west, one comes to Princeton University. Other universities, colleges, and research centers cluster near Route 1, including the Institute for Advanced Study, where Albert Einstein once conducted research.

Aspires to Silicon Valley

High tech has been in the region since the 1940s, when a number of think tanks were located in the Princeton area along with electronics laboratories. Most development, however, has occurred in the last two decades. Though Route 1 partisans love to compare their area to Silicon Valley, clearly this region is years away from assembling the concentration of high-tech shops seen in that part of California.

In recent years, Route 1 has become increasingly diverse. Firms include banks, back offices for brokerage houses, pharmaceutical companies, and laboratories involved with biomedical research, Mr. Brandinger says.

Still, planners and local political officials are not entirely sanguine about the concentration of facilities that have sprouted along or near Route 1 – now notes Di council. Jersey w in argui greater r ning on control, ance on

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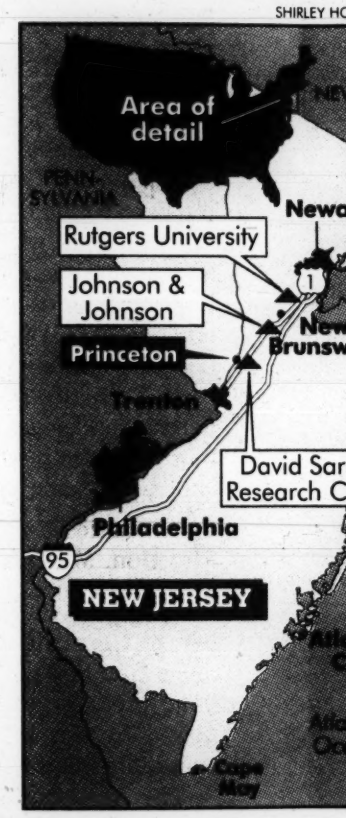
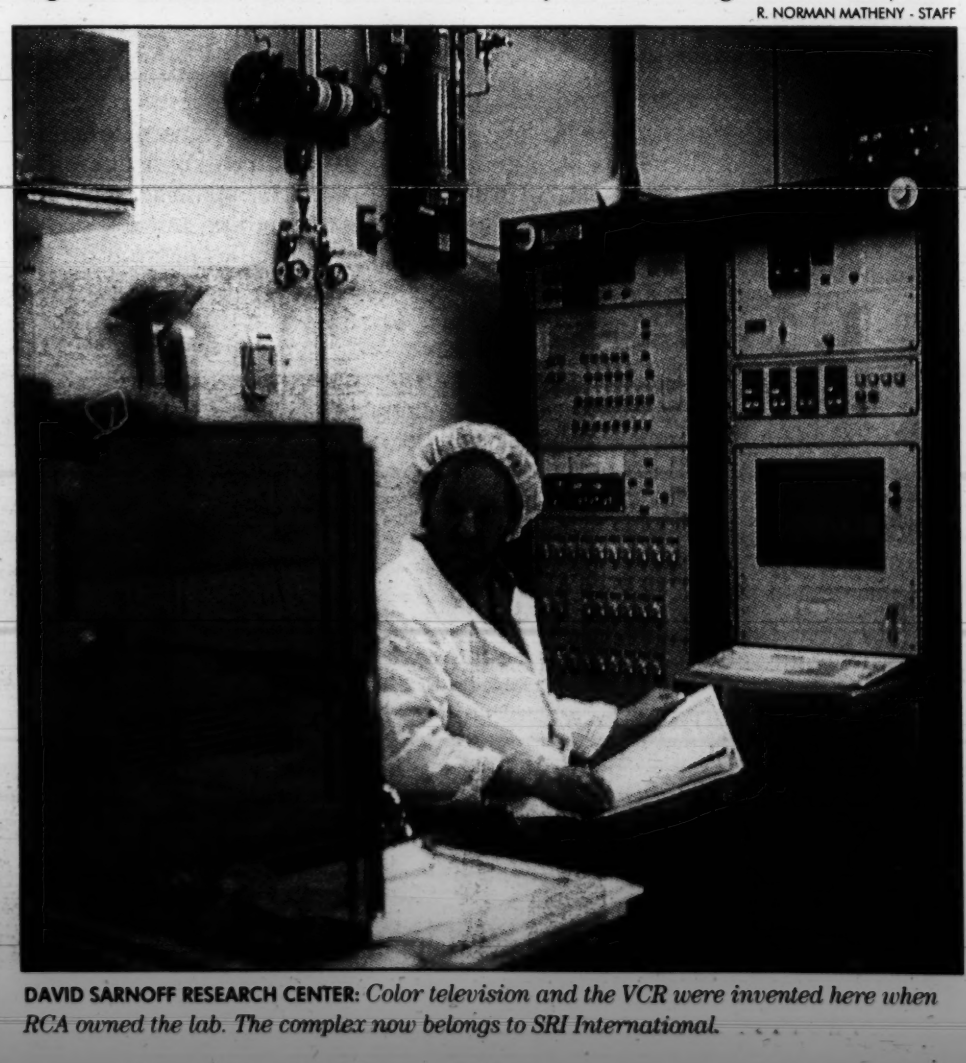


R. NORMAN MATHENY - STAFF



DAVID SARNOFF RESEARCH CENTER: *Color television and the VCR were invented here when RCA owned the lab. The complex now belongs to SRI International.*

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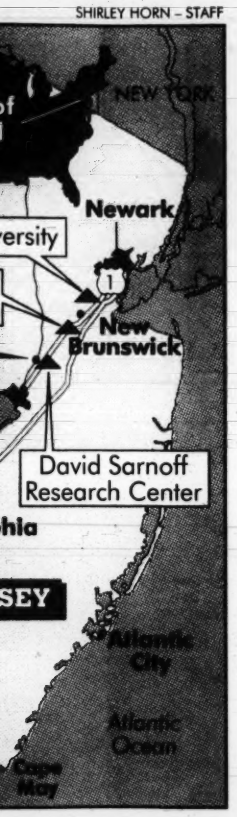
SHIRLEY HORN – STAFF



totaling more than 750. Traffic congestion, rising housing prices, and the encroachment on farmland is increasing the social costs of development.

Growth has put intense pressure on such regional planning bodies as the Middlesex, Somerset, Mercer Regional Council (MSM), made up of the three counties in the region. MSM gets high marks from most companies here. Yet planning is highly complicated; about 32 towns are included in the MSM umbrella, many of them with different development goals, notes Dianne Brake, president of the council. Many people in central New Jersey would agree with her, she says, in arguing that there is a need for greater regional coordination and planning on such issues as land use, traffic control, development, and over-reliance on local property taxes.

Yet engineers, researchers, and highly paid professionals appear eager to move to central Jersey because of the charm of many of the small towns in the region, the excellent school systems, the proximity to New Jersey's many fine beaches, as well as accessibility to New York and Philadelphia.

The state's economy has slowed considerably with the recession, which will dampen development. Hughes says there will be no major new projects along Route 1, but rather, "just a little filling out and some thickening" of existing office/research clusters.

The main spark plug for research continues to be the David Sarnoff Research Center – home of the famous RCA Labs, where color television and the video recorder were invented.

Today, the Sarnoff Center is considered the world's leading research lab on HDTV. That is one reason why so many Asian high-tech firms have rushed into Video Valley, Brandinger says: They want to ensure they share in any technological breakthroughs.

PHOTOS BY R. NORMAN MATHENY – STAFF

'MAIN STREET,' PRINCETON: *Residents pride themselves on the spotless streets and ubiquitous flowers, while many retailers enjoy a brisk trade.*

Princeton Charm Unfazed by Time or Tourists

PRINCETON, N.J.

ONE of Jerry Berner's challenges is to keep up with the various businesses that want to relocate to Palmer Square, a prominent downtown section of this picturesque community of 12,000 people.

Mr. Berner is vice president of operations for the Palmer Square Corporation, the management group for the seven-acre square. Of the 46 store sites located in Palmer Square, 43 are occupied. Lawyers are wrapping up lease arrangements on two of the three unoccupied units.

"This is just a very successful business and retail center," says Berner, who believes little could – or should – be done to improve the setting.

Strolling through downtown Princeton is a joy for any visitor, let alone retailers and urban planners. A walk takes one past small mom-and-pop stores, charming boutiques, some offices, and a few national retailers such as the Banana Republic and the Gap. Flowers are ubiquitous and streets are spotless. Tourists mix with college students from nearby Princeton University, Princeton Theological Seminary, and Rider College, located near here.

Currently, Princeton's Palmer Square area includes about 124 apartment and town house units. That means that families are always around the square – adding to the area's safety and occupancy. Another 90 housing units are expected to be built in the next three years, Berner says.

For all its charm, change is slowly coming to Princeton. "The population mix is being transformed," says Penelope Edwards-Carter, town clerk for the borough. The borough of Princeton is surrounded by a slightly larger political jurisdiction, Princeton Township. All told, about 25,000 people live in the two jurisdictions. But overall population has dropped slightly during the past decade, according to the United States Census Bureau.

TOWN AND GOWN: *Princeton students mix with tourists in this small university town which also has a seminary.*

In addition to a large white population, Princeton has long had a significant black community, dating back to the mid-to-late 19th century. Many Asian students are attracted to local universities. And Hispanics are moving into the community, a significant number of them from Guatemala, Ms. Edwards-Carter says.

Moreover, Princeton has not been able to escape national economic patterns, notes Aubrey Huston, executive editor and business editor of the Princeton Packet, the local newspaper, published twice a week.

Many of the smaller shops in Palmer Square have been hit by competition from the large national retail chains located along Route 1, Mr. Huston says. Traffic congestion is often troublesome.

Huston says that most residents – despite occasional grumbles – would find it hard to live anywhere else. He notes that a recent street fair, in which local roads were closed off, drew huge crowds. "The challenge here is to manage the change," he says. "But there's a great ambience here that makes Princeton very special."

– G. H.

BROADWAY ANNOUNCES TONY AWARD NOMINATIONS

NEW YORK

■ The New York theater community heads toward its big awards night with a list of 1993 nominations announced Monday. The June 6 awards will be televised by CBS.

Play: "Angels in America: Millennium Approaches" by Tony Kushner; "Someone Who'll Watch Over Me" by Frank McGuinness; "The Sisters Rosensweig" by Wendy Wasserstein; and "The Song of Jacob Zulu" by Tug Yourgrau.

Musical: "Blood Brothers"; "Kiss of the Spider Woman"; "The Goodbye Girl"; and "The Who's Tommy."

Revival: "Anna Christie"; "Saint Joan"; "The Price"; "Wilder, Wilder, Wilder."

Actor in a play: K. Todd Freeman in "The Song of Jacob Zulu"; Ron Leibman in "Angels in America: Millennium Approaches"; Liam Neeson in "Anna Christie"; and Stephen Rea in "Someone Who'll Watch Over Me."

Actress in a play: Jane Alexander for "The Sisters Rosensweig"; Madeleine Kahn for "The Sisters Rosensweig"; Lynn Redgrave for "Shakespeare for My Father"; and Natasha Richardson for "Anna Christie."

Actor in a musical: Brent Carver in "Kiss of the Spider Woman"; Tim Curry in "My Favorite Year"; Con O'Neill in "Blood Brothers"; and Martin Short in "The Goodbye Girl."

Actress in a musical: Ann Crumb in "Anna Karenina"; Stephanie Lawrence in "Blood Brothers"; Bernadette Peters in "The Goodbye Girl"; Chita Rivera in "Kiss of the Spider Woman."

Director of a Play: David Leveaux, "Anna Christie"; Eric Simonson, "The Song of Jacob Zulu"; Daniel Sullivan, "The Sisters Rosensweig"; and George C. Wolfe, "Angels in America: Millennium Approaches."

Director of a Musical: Bill Kenwright and Bob Tomson, "Blood Brothers"; Michael Kidd, "The Goodbye Girl"; Des McAnuff, "The Who's Tommy"; and Harold Prince, "Kiss of the Spider Woman."

Featured Actor in a play: Robert Sean Leonard, "Candida"; Joe Mantello, "Angels in America: Millennium Approaches"; Zakes Mokae, "The Song of Jacob Zulu"; and Stephen Spinella, "Angels in America: Millennium Approaches."

– Associated Press

FILM

Cannes Film Festival Forecast

SONY PICTURES CLASSICS

'FARAWAY, SO CLOSE!': *German director Wim Wenders, who made 'Wings of Desire,' premières his film at Cannes.*

By David Sterritt
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK

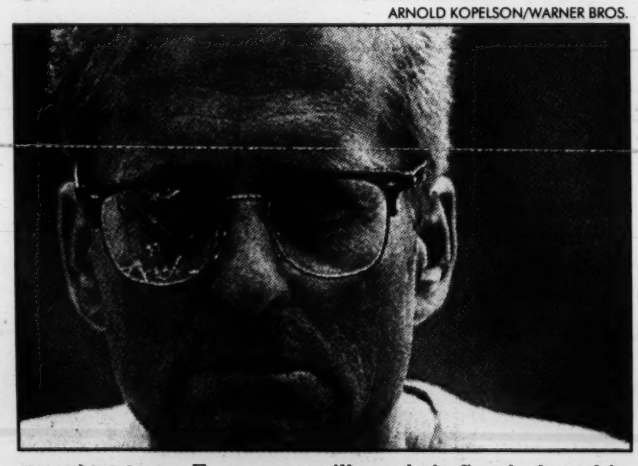
IN springtime, all eyes turn to the Cannes International Film Festival for signs of what's ahead in the movie world. That's largely because of the festival's tremendous size, which enables it to unveil a large number of films every year – some in competition for prestigious prizes, others in various sidebar events.

Many will be instantly forgotten, but the better contenders will go on to international fame in weeks and months ahead. This is why critics, reporters, programmers, exhibitors, and others with a stake in the cinematic future will be flocking from all over the world to the latest Cannes extravaganza, slated for May 13-24 at the sprawling Palais du Festival overlooking the blue waters of the Mediterranean sea.

Not that the Cannes filmfest is basking in unqualified success. Top brass have sent up surprising trial balloons in recent years, suggesting that the festival might change its time of year from spring to some other season. This has caused consternation among film festivals in different parts of the world, which have already laid claim to a particular time on the calendar and dread the thought of competition with Cannes.

This year's Cannes lineup does suggest, though, that spring is no longer the best possible time for assembling an exciting slate of movies. Most glaringly, Hollywood films will be in short supply at the festival.

ARNOLD KOPELSON/WARNER BROS.



'FALLING DOWN': *Europeans will get their first look at this American export, which stars Michael Douglas.*

In some cases, this is because of studio reluctance to première hot summer attractions before their massive publicity blitzes are ready to roll. In other cases, it's because major American films simply aren't finished yet.

Variety, the show-business newspaper, reports that Steven Spielberg's fantasy "Jurassic Park" was slated to close this year's program but won't be ready since Mr. Spielberg has precipitously leapt ahead to his next project, leaving his almost-completed dinosaur epic for George Lucas to wrap-up.

Other hoped for movies that won't debut at Cannes include "The Age of Innocence" by Martin Scorsese, "The Remains of the Day" by James Ivory, "Rising Sun" by Philip Kaufman, and "Short Cuts" by Robert Altman.

So what will be screened at Cannes this month? The competition contains enough movies by renowned non-American auteurs to tantalize anyone who enjoys the diversity and unpredictability of international film.

A hopeful sign is the large number of pictures by women, from Elaine Proctor of South Africa to Pilar Miró of Spain, Tracey Moffatt of Australia, and veteran director Agnès Varda of France, to name only a few. Gender aside, the most promising entries are:

■ "The Piano," by Jane Campion of Australia. One of the most inventive young filmmakers in the world, Ms. Campion hasn't been represented on-screen since "An Angel at My Table" became an international success after starting its life as a New Zealand television series. Expectations are high for her latest drama, a tale of romance and jealousy set in the 19th century.

■ "Farewell to My Concubine," by Chen Kaige of China. This ambitious filmmaker's most recent films ("Life on a String" and "The King of Children") have received only limited exposure, despite the widespread respect earned by his earlier works. The time is ripe for a breakthrough by Mr. Chen, and a major American distributor – Miramax Films – has already bought the rights to his new picture for United States release.

■ "Body Snatchers," by Abel Ferrara of the US. This remake of the classic 1950s science-fiction yarn, about aliens who appear exactly like their human victims, is a perfect project for Mr. Ferrara, who uses action-movie plots to explore social and psychological disarray. Stars include Meg Tilly and Lee Ermey.

■ "The Puppet Master," by Hou Hsaio-Hsien of Taiwan. Considered by some to stand with the world's greatest directors, Mr. Hou spins out finely detailed stories through images of amazing delicacy and restraint. Several of his films, such as "Daughter of the Nile" and "A Time To Live and a Time To Die," have found international audiences despite their often rigorous and challenging style.

■ "Fiorile," by the Taviani Brothers of Italy. The popular makers of "Padre Padrone" and "Night of the Shooting Stars" have failed to click with their recent efforts, including the exquisite "Night Sun," but hopes remain high for their latest picture.

■ "Faraway, So Close!" by Wim Wenders of Germany. Will the popular director have another smash hit like "Wings of Desire," or another resounding flop like "Until the End of the World," which remains all too fresh in memory? Cannes will provide the answer.

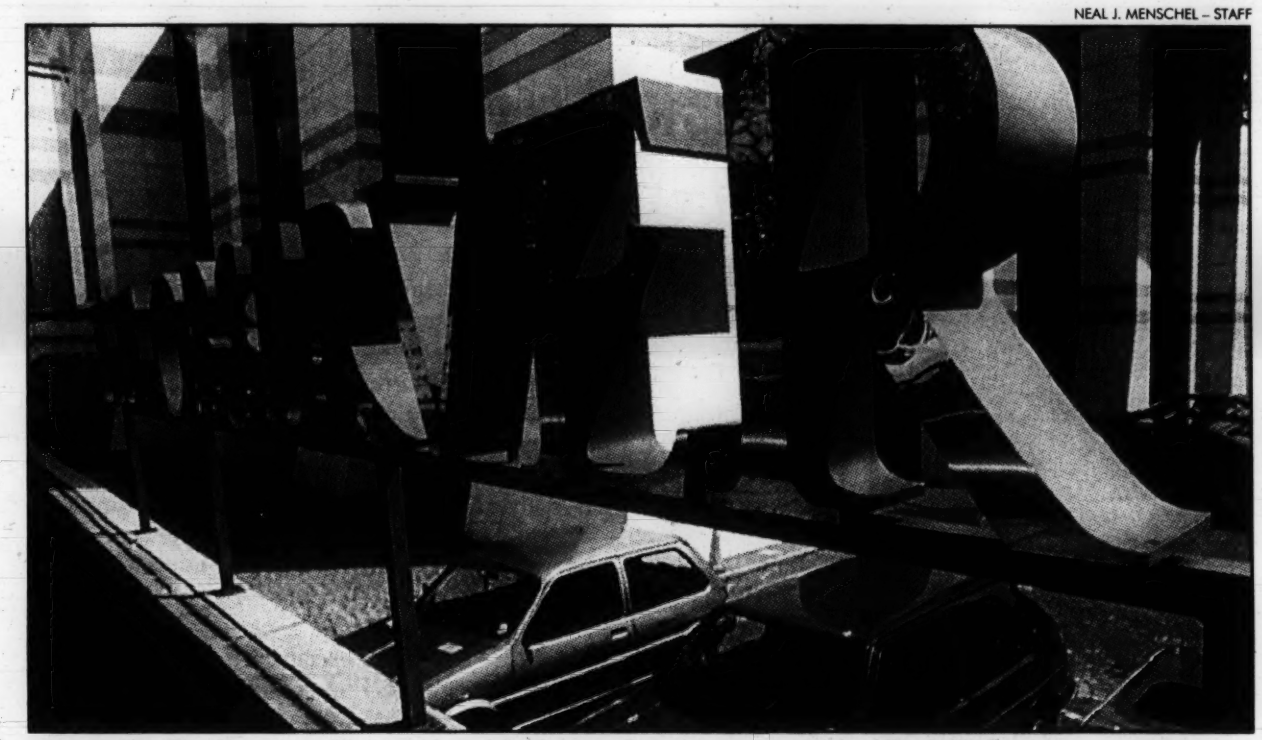
Other attractions of special interest include high-profile movies shown out of competition. Among them are "Baby of Macon" by England's controversial Peter Greenaway, and "Madadayo" by Japan's revered Akira Kurosawa, now in his 80s and still producing world-class cinema.

And yes, some American pictures will be on hand, apart from "Body Snatchers" and the repellent "Falling Down," which will have its European première at the film festival. Steven Soderbergh – whose "sex, lies, and videotape" was a Cannes sensation a few years ago – will unveil his new "King of the Hill," and John McNaughton will show his offbeat "Mad Dog and Glory," already released in the US.

How many of these movies – and others from countries as diverse as Haiti, Iceland, Norway, Vietnam, Burkina Faso, Mauritius, Romania, and Russia – will make their way to screens in the US and elsewhere? That will depend on reactions from the thousands of film professionals who throng the Palais for a cascade of morning, afternoon, evening, and late-night showings.

I'll be there for as many as possible, and between screenings I'll be tracking down the savviest film folks I can find for news and interviews. Stay tuned.

NEAL J. MENSCHEL – STAFF



HEAD OFFICE: *The Observer will get cash and fresh ideas from its new proprietor, the daily Guardian newspaper.*

British Newspaper 'Heavies' Gain

As tabloids lose readers, serious Sunday journals show new vigor

By Alexander MacLeod
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

LONDON

THE landscape of what the world used to call Fleet Street is being jolted and reshaped by a mix of economic and high-tech factors.

But in an age when many sections of the media are heading "down market" in the naked pursuit of profits, there are signs that the forces of change are producing some beneficial effects.

The most encouraging development is clear evidence of vigor among Britain's "quality" Sunday papers. A decade after newspaper publishers began fleeing the famous "Street of Ink" to premises on the fringe of London, serious readers are reaping the benefits of the revolution.

Brian MacArthur, a leading commentator on media trends, notes that except for the 202-year-old Observer, the so-called "heavies" of the Sunday press are on an upward circulation curve. By contrast, most mass-market daily and Sunday titles are in circulation decline.

Mr. MacArthur forecasts that the ailing Observer, which last month was saved from closure when it was purchased by the daily Guardian newspaper, will benefit from injections of cash and fresh ideas from its new proprietor.

If the world's oldest Sunday paper – it reported the death of Mozart – manages to stage a successful comeback, British readers will be able to choose from four high-grade Sunday titles. Faced with the Sunday Times, Sunday Telegraph, the Independent on Sunday, and the Observer, many will buy more than one, and some readers will buy them all.

Charles Wintour, author of "The Rise and Fall of Fleet Street," describes the British as "a nation of voracious newspaper readers," and the figures bear him out.

Every weekday, Britons buy nearly 14 million nationally circulating newspapers. On Sundays, the figure rises to around 16 million. In British cities, towns, and villages on Sunday mornings, men and women trudging home from newsagents and corner stores laden with several papers are a common sight.

According to MacArthur, economic recession has cut deeply into the tabloid market and handed an advantage to the serious Sunday press. He says that on weekends people look for "a good read" and are more likely to find it in the quality press than in mass-circulation papers that emphasize sex and scandal.

MEDIA

When it moved to London's dockland seven years ago, the Sunday Times, owned by Rupert Murdoch, took full advantage of new, more spacious premises and technology that made it possible to produce multisection newspapers on the American pattern.

This approach has enabled the Sunday Times – now equipped with a fat color magazine and comprehensive sections on business, home finance, travel, leisure, books, and the arts – to boost its circulation to 1.24 million, making it the market-leader among the "heavies."

Peter Preston, editor of the Guardian, forecasts that his company's acquisition of the Observer will enable it to do battle with its Murdoch rival on more equal terms.

If the Observer begins to rival the Sunday Times in variety and reader appeal, pressure will build on the Sunday Telegraph and Independent on Sunday to follow suit, and once again readers are likely to benefit. The four titles at present attract total sales of 2.7 million copies.

The future for tabloid newspapers is much cloudier. Average sales of Murdoch's Sun are around 3.5 million, a fall of 125,000 from last year. Its Sunday stablemate, the News of the World, fell 141,000, to 4.6 million. The Daily Mirror, which currently sells 2.6 million, is down 164,000 from 1992.

Media analysts say some of the worst tabloid losses are among readers in younger age groups. Chris Davies, assistant editor of the Sun, thinks the explanation is to be found in the impact of electronics.

He notes that while his paper has been losing ground among readers aged 16 to 34, television viewing figures for the same age group have risen by 11 percent since 1987.

Mr. Davies says that in the future, tabloid newspapers will have to appear in personalized, electronic form, enabling readers to download daily editions into their home computers.

Detailed examination of media statistics suggests, however, that the need for radical change may not be as great as Davies supposes.

According to Harry Henry, chairman of the Advertising Association's statistics committee, in the last 30 years the inflation-adjusted price of newspapers here has risen 126 percent for national dailies and 157 percent for Sunday papers.

Over the same period, overall circulations have fallen only marginally.

Mr. Henry says this suggests that the newspaper industry is fairly healthy.

Drama and Intrigue In Emerging Japan

By Ron Scherer

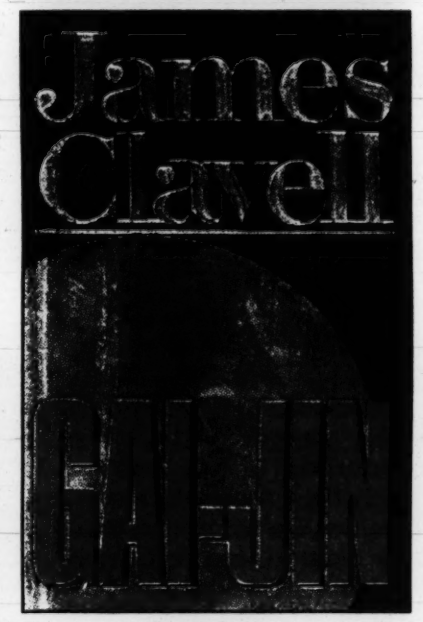
THE Japanese love fine *jubako* – lacquered boxes that fit within boxes that are in boxes. In "Gai-Jin: A Novel of Japan," James Clavell has written a *jubako* of a novel. Its 1,038 pages are filled with plots within plots within plots.

The scheming takes place at a critical moment in Japan's history – September 1862 to January 1863, only 10 years after American Commodore Matthew Perry opened Japan to Western trading. In that period foreigners, called *gai-jin* by the Japanese, were vying for influence. Yankee traders were in abundance, but any United States ambitions were deflected by the Civil War. Instead, the British dominated, with plenty of imperial jealousy from the French and Russians.

The Japanese feudal system was in turmoil. The powerful Toranaga family ran the country through their control of the Shogun, the ruler who governed temporal affairs. However, they were challenged by other feudal lords who were constantly scheming to control the "Land of the Gods." At the same time, there was a strong undercurrent of nationalism represented by rogue samurai, who wanted all power returned to the Emperor, who was in charge of spiritual affairs. These samurai wanted to get rid of the *gai-jin*.

BOOKS

That is where Clavell begins. Two samurai attack three Western men and a woman. One of the men is killed. A second is badly wounded. He is Malcolm Struan, the heir to Noble House (the subject of a 1981 Clavell novel), the Hong Kong trading institution that dominates Asia. The woman, Angelique Richaud, races back to Yokohama, the only area where Westerners are allowed to live.



GAI-JIN:
A NOVEL OF JAPAN
By James Clavell
Delacorte Press
1,038 pp., $27.50

After the attack, Sir William Aylesbury, the British minister in Japan, demands restitution for the man who was killed and the apprehension of the killers. Call it the beginning of diplomatic incomprehension – West not understanding East.

Struan tries to regain his health. He is fighting not only for his life, but also for his family's empire. His chief Asian rival, the Brocks, have plotted the downfall of Noble House, now run by Tess Struan, Malcolm's mother.

Woven into these events are the love affairs of the community. Miss Richaud is intent on becoming Mrs. Struan. Many of the men have girlfriends in the Yoshiwara, a brothel run by the Japanese who use the women to collect intelligence. The Japanese men have wives and courtesans as well, and Clavell also constructs *jubako* for them.

"Gai-Jin" is part of Clavell's Asian saga, which so far consists of "Shogun," dealing with the period around 1600, "Tai-Pan" (1841), "Gai-Jin" (1862), "King Rat" (1945), "Noble House" (1962), and "Whirlwind" (1979).

The novel will keep many beachgoers glued to their blankets this summer. The compelling plot helps you forget that the characters sometimes seem stereotyped: The British are pompous, the French connivers, the Japanese cunning and arrogant.

The first two chapters lack order, but Clavell gets it all sorted out by page 30. After the next 1,000 pages, readers will look forward to the next novel in his saga.

■ *Ron Scherer is on the Monitor's staff in New York City.*

SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Paradox in Universe's Age

How can the cosmos be younger than the oldest stars?

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor
BOSTON

JET PROPULSION LABORATORY

ANDROMEDA GALAXY: *In calculating the age of the universe, astronomers have been vexed by the difficulty in determining the distances to cosmic objects.*

ASTRONOMERS who study the evolution of the cosmos have a sense of déjà vu about their latest work.

Some of it implies that the universe is younger than the oldest stars. Their field has produced this kind of paradox before. When Edwin Hubble started this line of research six decades ago, his first results implied that the universe was younger than Earth.

"Once again, we have the same kind of problem," observes astrophysicist Jacqueline Hewitt of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. And once again, she and her colleagues are challenged to solve it in the way astronomers solved it in Dr. Hubble's day: They must get a better handle on the distances to cosmic objects.

Hubble had discovered the expanding universe. The farther a galaxy is from Earth the faster it recedes as part of the universal expansion. Hubble found that dividing this speed of recession by the distance to the object always gave the same number.

Astronomers consider this "Hubble constant" to be a basic characteristic of our universe. Multiply the constant by a standard conversion factor and divide it into 1 and you get a rough estimate of the universe's age.

The speed that goes into Hubble's constant is easy to measure. The faster a distant object recedes, the redder its light appears. Judging its distance is trickier. This often is done by estimating the intrinsic brightness of an object and then seeing how dim it appears from Earth.

Hubble got a value of 526 for his constant. That gave the universe an absurdly young age of 2 billion years. Astronomers now think the constant lies between about 50 and 100. But that still means trouble. Dr. Hewitt explains that "for a Hubble constant greater than 50 ... we find that the age of the universe has to be less than or equal to 13 billion years." But, she adds, "the age of the oldest stars in our galaxy [is] coming in at 16 billion years."

Hubble's problem was solved when astronomers realized that he had grossly underestimated distances to cosmic objects. Revised distance estimates gave a smaller Hubble constant of around 50 and a believable age for the universe of 15 billion to 20 billion years. But research is putting upward pressure on the constant. Some estimates run around 80. Robin Ciardullo of Pennsylvania State University, who made one of these high estimates, notes that it implies the universe is only about 8 billion years old. "That's absolutely impossible," he says. "It cannot be that young."

Meanwhile, astronomers are revising age estimates of the oldest stars in our Milky Way galaxy. Summarizing that research during the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Boston earlier this year, Boston University astrophysicist Kenneth Janes explained that, according to modern theories of stellar evolution, those old stars probably are between 16 billion and 17 billion years old. He said that, even allowing for uncertainties in those estimates, "Without some kind of fundamental new way of looking at stellar evolution, the age of the galaxy has to be 13 billion years or, more likely, substantially older than that."

'We're really talking about a much more complicated universe than we would like to think.'
– Dr. Robin Ciardullo

Astronomers now have the space telescope – named for Hubble – to help them. One of its key missions is to refine what has become the foundation for many cosmic distance scales.

For certain variable stars, called Cepheids, the frequency with which their light varies is a measure of their intrinsic brightness. Astronomers can gauge a galaxy's distance by finding a Cepheid and seeing how dim it appears. This only works for nearby galaxies. But astronomers use the procedure to check out other methods for getting the range to more distant objects. These include such techniques as estimating the intrinsic brightness of exploding stars in a galaxy or estimating a galaxy's overall brilliance.

Wendy Freedman of the Carnegie Institution of Washington Observatories office in Pasadena, Calif., says that she and her colleagues expect to greatly expand the volume of space reachable by the Cepheid method if astronauts can repair the Hubble telescope as planned this December. Even with its flawed mirror, the Hubble telescope has returned some preliminary results. These, together with improved detector technology, have refined the accuracy of Cepheid distance measurements.

Dr. Freedman says, "There's a good case now ... for a high value of the Hubble constant." Astronomers may have to look elsewhere to resolve the paradox of a universe that appears to be younger than its stars.

Dr. Ciardullo suggests that the trouble may lie in assuming the universe to be a simple structure that is more or less the same in all directions. "To my mind, we're really talking about a much more complicated universe than we would like to think," he says.

Disk Advances Open Unlimited Horizons

COMPUTER users don't think about their hard disk. It stores their data, makes that whirring noise, and remains as mysterious and sealed up as any part of the machine.

But that disk is the heart of your computer. If the machine vanished tomorrow, you could replace every component except the data that sit on your spinning disk.

This column isn't about backing up your data (although that is very important). It's about technological advances in a single part of a complex machine that change the way we use the machine. A nearly 40-year-old revolution in disk technology has brought us to the present. I think another big change is around the corner.

Before IBM launched the first commercial hard disk in 1956, computers were different machines. Data resided on cards or computer tapes. To get to the data, you had to process the computer cards or the tapes.

IBM's 305 Ramac changed all that. It held 5 million characters of data. (Five megabytes. Imagine that!) More important, it allowed users to access computer data directly without going through a batch process. Bill Nelson of IBM's hard disk unit, Addstar, calls it probably the most important computer development of the decade.

"It took us from the business of being a back-office batch-processing machine to being an on-line interactive business tool," he says.

The Ramac was a monster. It stood six feet high and four feet wide – an overlarge refrigerator stuffed with 50 spinning platters, each one 24 inches in diameter.

Skip forward to 1993. In March, IBM announced a new disk drive based on the idea of the Ramac but far, far smaller (3-1/2 inches wide and 1 inch high). It can carry 1 billion bytes (one gigabyte). Just under nine Ramacs can now fit on one square inch of IBM's new drive.

COMPUTERS FOR THE REST OF US

Over several decades, the capacity of hard drives has gone up an average 30 percent a year, says Jim Porter, president of a Mountain View, Calif., market research firm called Disk/Trend. In the last two years, capacity has grown at 60 percent a year, thanks to some new technologies and the increasing demands of sophisticated software. Today's average personal computer now holds 120 megabytes – about the capacity of a typical IBM mainframe in the mid-1960s. If the recent growth rate continues, the capacity of the average desktop will reach around 3 gigabytes by the end of the decade.

And disks keep getting smaller, too. Hewlett-Packard has a new drive that's only 1.3 inches wide.

It's this twin push – smaller and higher-capacity hard drives – that's nudging us into a new era of anywhere/anytime computing. Portable computing depends on a lot of advances. But if hard drives were still the size of refrigerators, portable computing wouldn't exist.

Disk companies sound confident that they can keep up the pace with new breakthroughs.

Seagate, the world's largest hard-drive company, is one of many examples. It has started using a new glass-ceramic product from Corning as the basis (or substrate) for some of its drives. Because the new product can be polished more finely than aluminum, the traditional substrate, Seagate says it will be able to reduce the distance between the disk and the recording head from 3 millionths of an inch to 2 millionths or, maybe, 1.5 millionths of an inch. That, in turn, would allow the disk to pack more information – up to 25 percent more.

Such improvements aren't trivial. Imagine driving down the highway at 250 miles an hour and keeping a tiny recording head less than a hair's thickness away from your spinning car wheel. Those are the tolerances these companies are working with.

Sort of makes your hard drive sound pretty fragile, doesn't it? But don't worry. Somehow, the scientists also keep coming up with ways to make hard disks more reliable. IBM's new one-gigabyte drive isn't expected to fail for an average 800,000 hours.

That's 91 years and four months of nonstop computer use.

– Laurent Belsie

■ *Send your comments on this column to CompuServe (70541,3654) or Prodigy (BXGN44A).*

PERSPECTIVE TO GO.

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The Home Forum.

Thatched and Surrounded by Blossoms

THE grass, they say, is always greener on the other side of the fence. And when it comes to gardening, it often also seems that the flowers are brighter on the other side of the world. To some gardeners, there's nothing quite so attractive as a plant from a remote and alien culture.

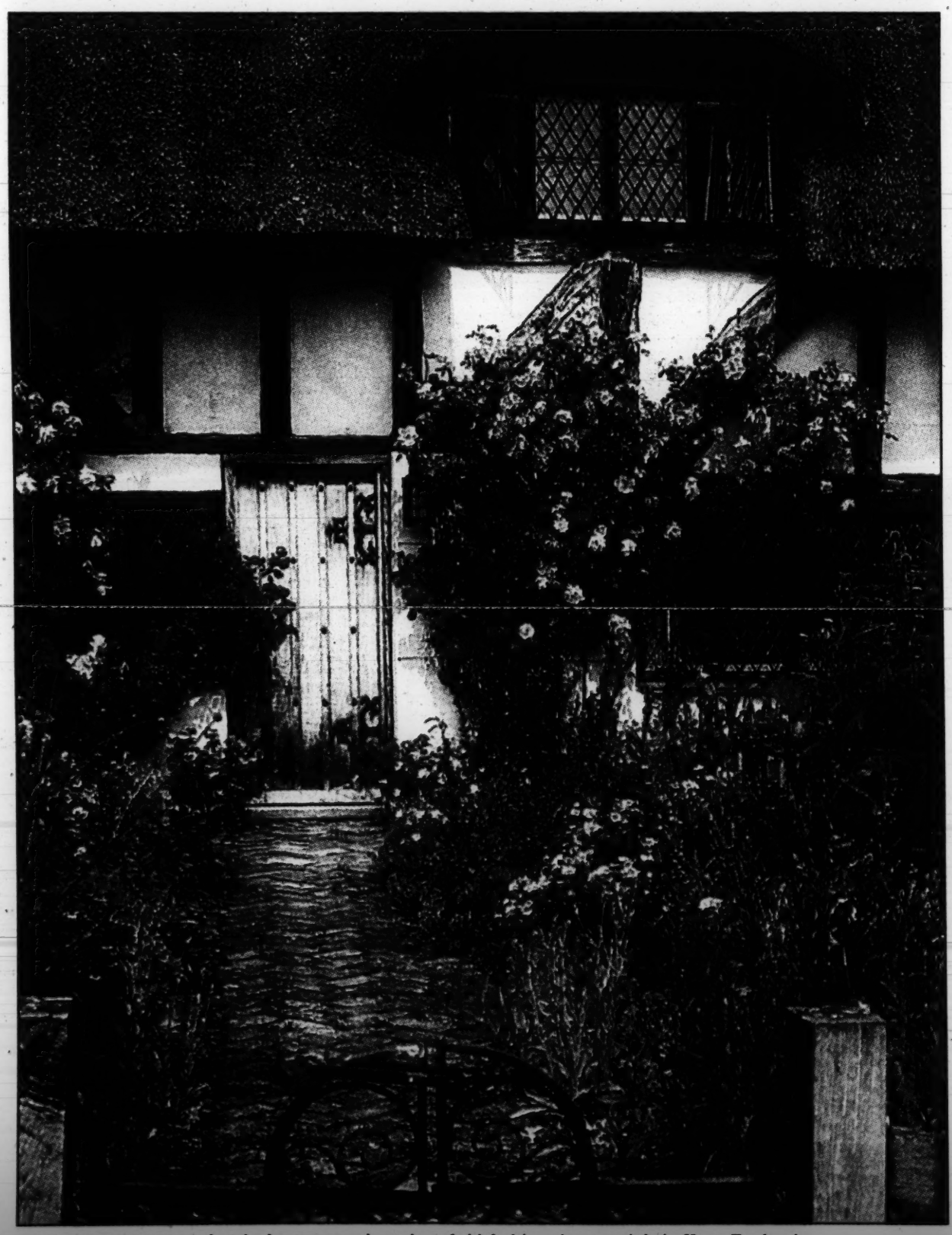
There are gardeners who go even further and make their whole garden into a patch of foreignness on their native soil. In deepest England, you can find Chinese gardens. In sultry Italy, you can find English herbaceous borders. French parterres spread themselves out prettily, clipped and classical, in front of castles in Scotland. Japanese gardens can be stumbled upon in just about every corner of the globe.

The move today, however, is toward a sense of *regional* garden-making – or so some garden books tell us. Actually, in my own patch, the move is, and always has been, continually toward local flora: Every time a buttercup, vetch, or dandelion establishes itself therein (these being weeds, you understand) this garden moves that much closer to "regionality." It seems I'm in vogue.

Well, maybe. Regional gardening is not really just encouraging the invasions of weeds. It's more a question of appropriateness – of not growing cacti if you don't live in a desert, or, if you do, not trying to grow roses. Regional gardeners advocate growing plants that naturally flourish in your neck of the woods. There seems good sense in this.

But I suspect that we gardeners will still hanker after plants – and garden designs – that are completely or partially foreign to the landscape we live in. Gardens, we will argue, are contrived and artificially set out anyway. One of the chief triumphs any gardener can claim is that he managed to make a displaced species feel so much at home that it burgeons just outside his front door.

On a similar basis, city gardeners bring a small breath of the countryside into their environment by making a garden bloom in the midst of concrete and car exhaust. If they only cultivated what grows naturally in cities, what would their gardens be like?



TRADITION EMBODIED: *A thatched cottage and garden of old-fashioned perennials in Kent, England.*

Long tradition has established the garden as an exception to its surroundings: a tame touch of plantlife in a wide wilderness, an escape, something different.

I'd say that a handsome volume by Margaret Hensel – from which the photographs on these pages are borrowed – is one that presents a gardening idea falling squarely into this category. It is called "English Cottage Gardening for American Gardeners."

Ms. Hensel explains: "This book began ... one sunny June morning." She was in Kent "on the way to photograph the gardens at Sissinghurst" (perhaps the most visited and emulated large English garden open to the public) when, in a small village called Benover, she "spotted the most wonderful thatched cottage with hollyhocks and cascades of red and yellow roses surrounding the windows and the wild, picturesque tangle of old-fashioned perennials to either side of the path leading to the front door."

What developed in her mind was a comparison between "that cottage garden" and "the large, well-known English gardens I had been photographing. Unlike those estates, with their mile-long valleys of rhododendrons, or Gertrude Jekyll-inspired perennial borders embellished with balustrades and fountains, this simple garden was deeply personal and something that American gardeners, such as myself, with small gardens and equally modest amounts of spare time and cash, could create."

I must say that Hensel should be given due praise for pursuing this notion. It has resulted in a charming book, full of evocative visual delights. Photographs never lie, do they? So we *have* to believe that there really do exist thatched cottages of utterly cosy, nest-like character almost lost in gardens awash with color and leaf, with climbing and clambering, spearing and spiking, towering and tumbling and overflowing summer flowers. The amazing thing is that it is true: They do exist.

These are among the different kinds of English gardens I remember missing quite desperately when I spent a number of years living in the United States. Like Hensel, I find them quite as exciting as the large, well-known gardens like Sissinghurst, probably because their scale is within reach of a private pocket. After all, the whole idea of a cottage garden is that it is not large or pretentious. It is meant to be a traditional folk garden.

Britain has its share of neglected and derelict back gardens too, of course, and not a few American-style front gardens, open to the road and nothing but grass and perhaps an odd tree or two. And there is another breed of vernacular British gardens that Hensel somehow chose not to include. These are mixtures of vegetables and flowers: a row of sweet peas, a few annuals like marigolds or cosmos, a mock-orange bush, a laburnum, a patch of daffodils. Nothing much to them. You see them from trains behind rows of connected urban houses. I believe such gardens are probably the real cottage gardens of today: packet-of-seed gardens belonging to postmen and supermarket check-out women. They are more likely to have washing lines and dustbins in them than the arbors and garden seats that Hensel shows in her book. But these gardens are the real thing, and they have a no-nonsense attractiveness.

The gardens Hensel feels are typical of the cottage-garden genre are mostly more aware of themselves. They are still unpretentious. They are still of the "small is beautiful" persuasion. They still rely more on the swap-and-gift concept, where neighbors and friends are the best plant suppliers and garden centers are visited as rarely as possible. But whether the folk who care for the

ENGLISH COTTAGE GARDENING FOR AMERICAN GARDENERS
By Margaret Hensel
W. W. Norton & Company
239 pp., $50

gardens can mainly be called simple "cottagers" is altogether another question.

In Kent and Gloucestershire and Dorset, cottagers are just as likely to be retired lawyers and widows of successful city gents as the cobblers and fieldworkers they should be. Ex-Army officers can be particularly keen gardeners. Schoolteachers likewise. But whoever they are, they still have a distinctive urge to suit garden to house. A cottage, particularly a Tudor one, simply asks for a particular kind of garden. Many owners of such cottages have an instinct, it seems, going way back into ancient peasant roots ... or at least to the Victorian era.

Hensel does not make much of the fact that "the cottage garden" has a romanticized history that is more self-conscious than just a puttering-about-after-work, casual cultivation of the ground that

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARGARET HENSEL, FROM 'ENGLISH COTTAGE GARDENING FOR AMERICAN GARDENERS'

A REQUIRED PRESENCE: *Any traditional English cottage garden features roses. Below, a Siberian iris.*

happens to lie around small houses in small villages in England. I believe she knows this very well, because the gardens she chooses are, however modest, all clearly enthusiasts' gardens. They are loved by and endlessly worked in by owners often quite obviously besotted by horticulture as a hobby and habit.

These gardens have a style (which is why she is fascinated by them); they have many plants in common; they belong to a tradition. They don't just happen to look "old-fashioned;" they *are*, by their very nature, the continuance of an old fashion.

The cottage garden belongs to the Romantic era. Keats wrote about autumn "conspiring" with the "maturing sun" to "load and bless/ With fruit the vines that round the thatch-eaves run;/ To bend with apples the moss'd cottage-trees...."

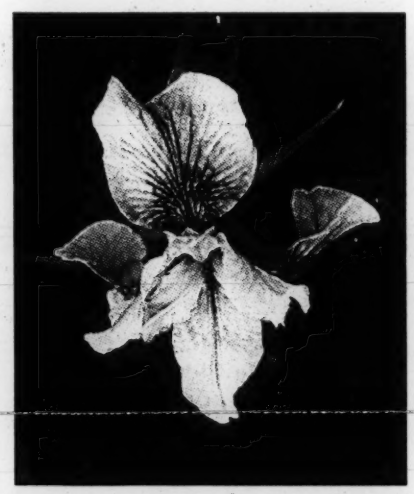
The painter Samuel Palmer, who as a young man lived in rural Kent for a few "visonary" years, made memorable paintings of village cottage gardens as if they were walled-in Edens.

Hensel does mention in passing a painter of overcrowded and much-too-sweet pictures of cottage gardens called Helen Allingham. She might have mentioned Beatrix Potter. Both knew a typical cottage garden when they saw one, and admired, loved, and recorded them – Potter with greater insouciance.

Hensel mentions Gertrude Jekyll, a well-known gardener and designer of gardens. This is interesting, because Hensel links her with large gardens and borders, which was by no means always her concern. In fact, Jekyll was fascinated by cottage gardens, influenced by their traditions and naturalness, and wrote: "The size of a garden has very little to do with its merit. It is the size of the owner's heart and brain and good-will that will make his garden either delightful or dull."

Of course, Jekyll worked on the large gardens of wealthy families. But she certainly went along with the argumentative William Robinson, author of the classic "The English Flower Garden," who espoused hardy perennial plants instead of the annual bedding-out plants that have to be resown each year, replanted, and dug up in the autumn. Robinson even liked wild plants and wanted them in gardens. He loved cottage gardens. About "Cottage Garden in Kent," he wrote:

"No pretentious plan to consider, only the yellow Sunflowers of the season massed in their own way ... inside the little wall.... One lesson of these little gardens, that are so pretty, is that one can get good effects from simple materials." Paradoxically, the sunflowers he mentions are annuals, so, to assert his point of view, he adds: "... how much more might we get by good hardy flower gardening round such pretty old



houses.... In Kent we must trust to the hardy things of which there are so many that no cottage garden can contain half of them."

Robinson's ideas – and Jekyll's too, when she was working on smaller gardens – are what hold sway today in the cottage gardens Hensel has photographed and written about. There is a certain irony in the fact that today's small cottage gardeners are so beautifully practicing the precepts preached by late 19th-century "Big House" gardeners like Robinson and Jekyll.

There is irony in the fact that at the much-admired Sissinghurst, its owners Vita Sackville-West and Harold Nicolson, following Jekyll and Robinson, divided their large garden up into smaller gardens, and one of them they called "The Cottage Garden." The name is appropriate not only because a cottage is located there. The garden is also, as writer Anne Scott-James has described it, "planted with a cottage mixture – or rather, a sophisticated cottage mixture, for all the varieties are choice and some are rare." Scott-James mentions, among others, such plants as columbines, helianthemum ("rock roses"), pansies, potentillas and nasturtiums. It is notable that some of these are annuals – and why shouldn't they be?

Hensel is absolutely right when she says that roses are an absolutely essential ingredient of cottage gardens.

Flora Thompson, in her chronicle of hamlet life in the 1870s, describes one cottage garden in "Lark Rise" (a made-up name) with special pleasure. It is revealing to note that this garden was a sign of wealth in a hamlet inhabited by very poor people. Her description emphasizes the roses in Old Sally's garden:

"Sally had such flowers, and so many of them, and nearly all of them sweet-scented! ... Wallflowers and tulips, lavender and sweet william, and pinks and old-world roses with enchanting names – Seven Sisters, Maiden's Blush, moss rose, monthly rose, cabbage rose, blood rose, and, most thrilling of all to the children, a big bush of the York and Lancaster rose, in the blooms of which the rival roses mingled in a pied white and red. It seemed as though all the roses in Lark Rise had gathered together in that one garden. Most of the gardens had only one poor starveling bush or none; but, then, nobody else had so much of anything as Sally."

So, no cottage garden of today, following this tradition – in England or America – can possibly be without roses, particularly climbing and rambling roses, intertwined if possible with honeysuckle and clematis. If nowhere else, they should be close to the door, as many of Hensel's lovely photographs show: Such things make cottage part of the garden, and garden part of the cottage.

Christopher Andreae

Help at Night

ONE of our children wasn't feeling well and another was showing signs of the same illness. I was kept busy caring for them and praying for their comfort, health, and peace. Then late at night just as my head hit the pillow, our oldest child came into our bedroom complaining of the same symptoms. I thought about God's ability and willingness to heal disease and sickness. I could see by my understanding of Christian Science that the power of Truth and Love is always present. And when God's law is acknowledged and accepted as the only law with authority to govern man, His spiritual, perfect reflection, it can actually stop disease in its tracks and immediately establish health.

As I tucked my daughter back in her bed, I talked with her of God's presence and goodness and told her to expect to feel His presence all around her. It became so clear to me as I prayed that God's law and action were fully established in my household and experience, and that the children's symptoms would not have to last a certain number of days before disappearing. The symptoms could end right then—destroyed through prayer by the power of God. Because God is all-powerful, anything unlike Him isn't really a power at all, and it necessarily must submit to the all-power of God, good. That night the oldest child slept fine, and when she woke she was perfectly well and happy. She thanked God for her healing. The other two children also quickly recovered.

The Christian Science Monitor's Religious Article

Mary Baker Eddy, the Founder of the Christian Science Church, describes *Christ* in her book *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures.* She writes: "CHRIST. The divine manifestation of God, which comes to the flesh to destroy incarnate error." Christ, the power of God which heals, destroys false beliefs about man and reveals the reality—man made in God's image.

When we open our hearts to God in prayer, Christ establishes in our consciousness the true, spiritual concept of God as the one all-loving Parent, and man as His beloved spiritual reflection, or idea. This action of Christ tenderly exposes the false beliefs about God and man that manifest themselves in sickness; it reveals them as having no support in Truth, God, and therefore no ability to resist Christ's healing power. When the false belief that man is material and vulnerable to disease is destroyed in human consciousness, it no longer has any means of externalization. The patient loses groundless fear and yields to Christ's ministrations of love. This is how the power of Christ stops sickness and disease, ends symptoms, and destroys them. This is what happened the night my daughter was healed. We could not fear in the presence of Christ.

Sickness and disease are never really conditions of the body, although it appears this way. They are really false beliefs that must be rooted out of thought and replaced with the spiritual understanding of man's innate, God-given perfection—which is the reality and is always present. Christ Jesus illustrated the presence and power of God as he went about doing his healing work. He was able to heal the man born blind, for example, because he refused to give power to material heredity. He appealed to God's might and prayerfully commanded that the false concept be completely destroyed, and it was.

Job, even in the midst of adversity, affirmed God's ever-presence when he said, "In my flesh shall I see God." We, too, can cling to God's presence and gain a clearer understanding of Christ. And we can prayerfully appeal to the power of God and His Christ to destroy faulty concepts of God and man and bring out more of the perfection of spiritual reality.

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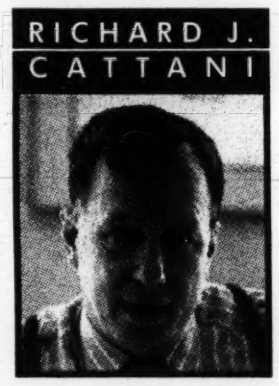
Decoding Clutter's Larger Universe

OUR friends at The Atlantic Monthly, in their "Word Watch" column, have drawn attention to a new term: *clutter buddy*. This is a noun for a person who helps another person cope with accumulated personal possessions. In the mode of today's many support movements, there are now clutter clinics, clutter hot lines, de-clutter guidebooks, and recovering clutterers. The anti-clutter movement of the '90s is antidotal to the acquisitiveness of the '80s.

Clutter implies disorder, a jumble; it is related to "clot," an aggregation that may obstruct the flow of an activity. In addition to its personal, self-help context, clutter has political, economic, and social applications.

Bill Clinton, for instance, is facing a cluttered presidency. Foreign affairs are intruding upon his preferred agenda. He does not yet have a program for Bosnia with an action trigger to pull. He has not prepared the alignment on Bosnia with Western European leaders like the one James Baker III had prepared for George Bush and the Iraq showdown. The North American Free Trade Agreement is faltering.

Like most Democratic presidents, Clinton is domestically oriented. But even here he has made a jumbled start. With his second-thought approach to gays in the military, he has pleased neither side on the issue and has set astir the services he would have to rely upon for a military initiative in a place like Bosnia. On the jobs front, he overpromised during the campaign and is now facing the drag of an oversluggish economic recovery. Health-care reform looks as if it will cost more than he had counted on. In fairness to Clinton, any presidency's threads can be very hard to draw together. And Clinton needs time to shift from the style and compass of a governor to the demands of a superpower executive.



Businesses are into anti-clutter mode. IBM has just hired Gerald Czarnecki to reprogram its personnel and administration practices; he is expected to take an "unsentimental" approach to IBM's cushy workplace. Kodak's chairman Kay R. Whitmore appears to be dithering over his troubled company's strategy.

Clutter is essentially mental in nature. This can be seen when we observe how tightly clutter can be held for the "comfort" it affords, or how intensely it can be resented for obstructing our view or impeding our progress.

The best de-cluttering agent is a clear direction and a predispostion to action. In moving forward we leave behind what is no longer needed.

The best argument for de-cluttering is not that a jumbled room or organization evidences some moral failure but that, pragmatically, it is better to clean the slate and to get ready for progress.

Political systems feed on clutter. Boston, for example, is not the cleanest of cities. When six men stand idle at a work site while only one man is working, one can observes how patronage or job-generating systems can depend on never quite finishing the job.

Clutter may reflect unmanaged *time* rather than disordered *things*. Clutter gathered for recyling can have value.

The French penchant for order, administrative and otherwise, can be annoying to the non-French. But it must be appreciated too, as in the French culinary step called *mise en place*: All ingredients needed for a dish are prepared and assembled beforehand so the cooking can be done with dispatch; without this practice, the high level of French cooking could not be reached.

Americans prefer an improvisational approach to order, which is something of a contradiction. They value informality and take great pains to appear offhanded. At the moment, the de-clutter movement finds a companion austerity movement in fashion – austerity both in the latest look of clothes and in the management of fashion operations.

People and organizations tend to be defensive about their clutter. Clutter may at times be no more than a skin that should be shed, and this implies a moment of vulnerability. Clutter itself can be a defensive deployment for resisting change.

All this is to say that clutter is not usually what it appears to be, and that it implies a readiness for a new ordering concept.

■ *Richard J. Cattani is editor of the Monitor.*

OPINION/ESSAYS

A Diplomatic Fire Wall Needed in Macedonia

By William N. Dunn

WHILE the West struggles to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia, a potentially more dangerous crisis looms in Macedonia where a Serb offensive could trigger an all-out Balkan war pitting Serbia and Greece against Bulgaria, Albania, and Turkey.

If this were to occur, other nations might be drawn in, spinning the situation hopelessly out of control and creating a 1914 scenario that could lead to war on a continental scale. There is time to prevent such a catastrophe, but only if the United States acts now by erecting a military and diplomatic "fire wall" in Macedonia.

After a recent trip to Macedonia which included discussions with Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov, his parliamentary president, Stojan Andov, and key government leaders and intellectuals, it is clear that such a fire wall has become an "idea-in-good-currency" among knowledgeable Macedonians inside and outside government.

Here are several possible elements of such a fire wall:

■ US recognition of Macedonia. Macedonia was recently recognized by the United Nations. US recognition of Macedonia might discourage Serb aggression and keep Macedonia's moderate democratic reformists in power – especially President Gligorov, who is respected widely in the region, even in Belgrade and Athens.

■ Enlargement of the 800-man UN contingent currently in western Macedonia. At its present size, this force has little deterrence value.

■ US occupation of a recently vacated Macedonian military base outside Skopje, the capital, for use as a surveillance and communications intelligence center to monitor Serb activity in nearby Kosovo and environs. This occupation should be done only with prior Macedonian approval and with the full understanding that it will in no way lead to a de facto US occupation of Macedonia.

Such a move would also give the US a subtle but effective presence in the region that would prevent the Serbs from using the base themselves – and discourage them from capturing nearby territory. Unless the US acts now to erect a fire wall between Serbia and Macedonia, hostilities could spread and engulf the Balkans.

Macedonia's problems are severe. They are exacerbated by the failure of the US to extend diplomatic recognition. Greece objects to such recognition, calling an independent Macedonia a threat to its cultural identity and political position. Despite its objections, the European Parliament finally voted in 1993 to extend recognition, as did Russia, Bulgaria, and Turkey the previous year.

Macedonia has been admitted to the UN under the label, "The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia;" Britain, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and Denmark have also formally recognized the country. The US, however, in the name of NATO solidarity with Greece, still refuses to recognize Macedonia.

The failure of the Skopje government to win diplomatic recognition from the US has strengthened Macedonian nationalists in the parliament. These nationalist groups oppose any hint of interethnic accommodation and are committed to the extension of Macedonia's borders into Greece as far south as Salonika and the Aegean Sea.

The failure of Skopje to win diplomatic recognition from the US has strengthened a small but growing minority of Macedonian ultra-nationalists.

Coupled with the continued deterioration of the Macedonian economy resulting from the embargo of Serbia, which previously accounted for more than 50 percent of Macedonia's total trade, the Skopje government faces a severe test in upcoming parliamentary elections and needs all the support it can muster to continue its moderate, liberal-reformist course. If it is destabilized, the resulting coalition could exacerbate historically strained relations between Slavic and Albanian Macedonians and radically alter the direction of Macedonian domestic and foreign policies.

Lack of recognition also makes Macedonia's borders with Serbia, including the Kosovo, more vulnerable to Serbian aggression. Many believe that an outbreak of hostilities in Kosovo would provide a pretext for Serb attacks into Macedonian territory, notwithstanding some 800 UNPROFOR troops along the Macedonian border with Serbia, Kosovo, and Albania. Equally likely are Serb efforts to drive Kosovan Albanians across the mountainous border into western Macedonia, where there are heavy concentrations of Macedonian Albanians.

The leaders of three major Serb parties are committed to the preservation of Kosovo as historic Serb territory and of the pre-1945 claim that Macedonia is actually southern Serbia. A "Greater Serbia" would include all territory up to the present Greek border. Serb agents are now active in western Macedonia, provoking Albanian opposition to the present liberal-reform government in Skopje.

Barring US action, many in Macedonia believe a Balkan war will originate in the mountains of western Macedonia and spread.

This paralysis can be decisively altered by the US, if the Clinton-Gore administration chooses to exert leadership in maintaining peace and security in Macedonia and the Balkans by erecting a fire wall against aggression. Among North Atlantic powers, the US alone is free to seize the opportunity for preventative diplomacy in Macedonia, which is the only country where such action is feasible.

The unstated US policy option is to withhold recognition of Macedonia and to do nothing else. This option ignores the unequivocal strategic importance of Macedonia and the opportunity for preventative diplomacy now to avoid military entanglements later.

Using the base near Skopje for surveillance and for a symbolic US presence to deter the Serbs, together with augmentation of UNPROFOR forces and recognition of Macedonia, would help the moderate, liberal reformist government in upcoming parliamentary elections and contribute to regional economic, political and military stability. The costs of such a fire wall initiative are modest, provided the US acts before it is too late.

■ *William N. Dunn is a professor at the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh and a consultant to the Macedonian government.*

TOM HUGHES

Israel and Syria Search for Peace

By Alon Ben-Meir

EXCHANGING territory for peace has not always provided the basis for Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations. In fact, for more than two decades Syria has demanded Israeli withdrawal from the Golan Heights without offering peace in return, and Israel has sought full peace with Syria without ceding the entire Golan. Both parties have accepted the principle for exchanging territory for peace based on UN Resolution 242, but how much territory for what kind of peace remains at an impasse.

Since Israel captured the Golan in 1967, both Labor and Likud-led governments have defined the Golan as strategically critical to Israeli defense. Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin has been a staunch advocate of the Golan settlements policy, which he defines as security settlements.

Mr. Rabin now faces the extremely difficult task of convincing the Israelis to exchange the Golan for peace. Rabin cannot commit himself to total or near-total withdrawal without first achieving "full peace" – with diplomatic relations, open borders, trade, etc., which he could present to the Israeli public as the ultimate security objective. Anticipating some territorial concessions, the Israeli settlers on the Golan are already bracing themselves for a major confrontation with the government.

Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, on the other hand, has staked his political fortunes on the recovery of every inch of the Golan without offering "full peace" explicitly. The Golan has historically been a Syrian territory; relinquishing even a small part of it to Israel would be seen by Syrians as submission to Israel's conquest, symbolizing Syrian defeat in 1967.

Syria will reject any concession in which its national honor is implicated. Therefore, Syrian sovereignty over the Heights is simply not negotiable. President Assad insists that the Golan must be treated like the Sinai, which was returned in its entirety to Egypt in exchange for peace.

What has further complicated the Israeli-Syrian negotiations is Rabin's insistence that peace with Syria stand on its own irrespective of the negotiating outcome with the Palestinians or the Jordanians.

HAVING championed Arab nationalism and the Palestinian cause for more than two decades, Assad feels compelled to seek concurrent and concrete agreements between Israel and all confrontational Arab states, including the Palestinians. Former Egyptian President Anwar Sadat was criticized for making peace, and even more so for making a separate peace with Israel. Syrian officials claim that they are ready to negotiate separately and reach a separate agreement, but Assad will not sign a separate peace and subject himself not only to Arab criticism, but also to the wrath of the Islamic fundamentalists and other extremists from the left who oppose peace with Israel under any circumstances.

There is one basic requisite for Israeli-Syrian peace: full peace for total withdrawal. Israel will not return all of the Golan without full peace and Syria could not offer full peace without the return of the entire Golan. Rabin and Assad must now find a way not only to accommodate each other's requirements, but also to change Israeli and Syrian public opinion, which has been molded by their respective leaders to resist the principle of exchanging the entire Golan for full peace.

Israeli military experts confirm that the Golan serves as an important strategic asset. Israel's ultimate national security, however, does not depend on territory, but on full reconciliation and on maintaining a military power second to none in the region. The Israelis must grasp the opportunity. Rabin has yet to concede on this point, insisting on only partial withdrawal from the Golan. The Syrians, too, must come to the inevitable conclusion that to recover all of the Golan they must offer full peace to alleviate Israel's security concerns and to allow the Israelis to withdraw over an extended period. Leasing the Golan to Israel for 40 to 50 years, after it has been officially restored to Syrian sovereignty, remains a viable option that Syria should seriously consider.

The Israel-Syrian negotiating process has reached a very delicate stage. The modalities of Israeli withdrawal, timetable, and measures undertaken to insure Israel's security and to build mutual confidence can all be negotiated. However, the principles of eventual but total Israeli withdrawal in return for full and a comprehensive peace will not change. The sooner Israel and Syria accept this reality the sooner they could begin the process of concluding a peace agreement. The United States must persuade both the Israelis and Syrians that their respective demands represent national imperatives without which neither Rabin nor Assad can deliver the required concessions to make peace.

■ *Alon Ben-Meir, a New York-based political analyst, is the author of "A Framework for Arab-Israeli Peace," (Robert Publishing Group, St. Louis).*

Ending the Strife In East Timor

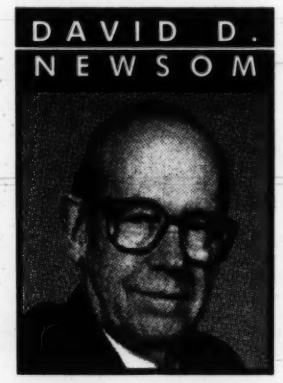
IN late April, the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal met in Rome with United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to discuss the troubled former Portuguese colony of East Timor. Further such trilateral talks on the issue are slated for September in New York.

The agenda has not been made public, but presumably Portugal seeks assurances with respect to the rights of the people of its former colony, and Jakarta wants Portugal's formal acceptance of Indonesia's incorporation of the province. (Portugal and Indonesia do not currently have diplomatic relations.)

Since 1974 and the collapse of the Portuguese empire, Indonesia has tried to subdue and incorporate East Timor. The Indonesian Army has been opposed by forces of Fretilin (Frente Revolucionara do Timor Leste Independente), a movement seeking independence. The military efforts continue; in the last four months, two of the movement's leaders have been captured.

Until recently, access to Timor by outside observers has been severely limited. The gunning down of demonstrators in Dili, the capital, in front of foreign visitors in November 1992 was a vivid window on the tactics being employed to bring the province under Jakarta's control. Perhaps in part because of that incident, Indonesia now appears to be making an effort to gain greater international understanding of its presence. In addition to the talks with the Portuguese, the Indonesian government has arranged for visits by a UN delegation, headed by Amos Wako, the attorney general of Kenya. In his most recent visit in April, Mr. Wako was permitted to meet with captured Fretilin leaders.

DAVID D. NEWSOM



East Timor occupies one-half of one of the smaller Indonesian islands. The Portuguese presence dates from the days of exploration in the 16th century. In 1859, the island of Timor was divided between Portugal and the Dutch who colonized what is now Indonesia. When the Indonesian independence movement gained strength under Sukarno during World War II, one of its primary tenets was to incorporate all of the "land and water" of the archipelago into the new nation, regardless of the cultural and religious heritage of the territories.

The history of the Indonesian Army, the primary source of power in the country, is dominated by suspicion of Chinese communists, alleged to have been responsible for an abortive coup against the army in 1965 and by battles to subdue separatist movements in Sumatra and Sulawesi. Whether correct or not, the army leadership became convinced that the People's Republic of China was supporting the Fretilin movement. The likelihood that the army would stand still for what they saw as a Chinese-dominated mini-state was remote.

During 1974 and 1975, President Suharto did attempt negotiations with Portugal to effect a peaceful turnover to Indonesia. Indonesians at the time claimed that the talks were fruitless. The Indonesian Army occupied Dili and other towns in January 1976. A "provisional government" was formed that demanded integration into Indonesia. Despite calls by the UN Security Council for Indonesia to withdraw, Mr. Suharto signed the incorporation measure on July 17. Fretilin has continued its struggle against Indonesian rule until this day.

Portugal under its pre-1975 dictatorship did little to prepare its empire for independence. Except for Angola and Mozambique, the remnants of the trading posts established in the 16th century were imbedded on the fringes of other major nations. In the cases of Goa and Macao, incorporation into the larger entity is already a certainty. India seized Goa by force in December 1961. Portugal has agreed with China that sovereignty of Macao will be transferred in 1999. The incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia seems also inevitable. Hopefully, the current talks between Lisbon and Jakarta offer an opportunity to ensure that such incorporation will respect the former colony's separate cultural and religious identity and contribute to the dignity and welfare of the inhabitants. The death and destruction have gone on long enough.

■ *David D. Newsom, former undersecretary of state, is Cumming Memorial Professor of International Affairs, University of Virginia.*

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

There They Go Again

CONGRESSIONAL Democrats are at it again.

As President Clinton stumped in Ohio and Illinois this week for his economic package of tax increases and spending cuts, his party's leaders on Capitol Hill have been crafting a strategy to move $272 billion in tax increases through the House and Senate as part of Mr. Clinton's overall anti-deficit effort.

The goal, party leaders say, is a solid front against any GOP attempts to block or alter the proposal through amendments or filibuster.

The president and Democrats in Congress need an economic-policy success. Clinton, especially, has been beset by a persistently sluggish economic recovery, conflicting opinions on Bosnia, continuing political unrest over his proposal to allow gays to serve in the military, and a defeat at the hands of GOP Sen. Robert Dole & Co. over a $16.3 billion stimulus package.

The Democrats' answer, however, seems to be to bring out a steamroller rather than a negotiator – not a plan in the best long-term interests either of Clinton or his programs. It is a plan geared less to demonstrating an ability to govern, which the Democrats hope to achieve, than to solidifying Republican opposition to other initiatives that Clinton and Americans deem important, such as health-care reform.

The strategy in the House seems to be one of ensuring party discipline to keep the Democratic majority solidly behind the president's tax package.

In the Senate, Democrats reportedly hope to capitalize on Senate rules preventing filibusters during the budget reconciliation process, during which individual spending and tax bills are drafted to adopt the goals outlined in the budget resolution that passed in March. The arithmetic: Senate Democrats need only 50 votes to pass spending and tax bills, not 60 to end a filibuster.

Leading Republicans share responsibility here: The most charitable characterization of their rhetoric on the budget issue would be "strident." Just as Democrats would be wrong to repeat the railroading that cost them their stimulus package, so Republicans would be wrong to draw too heavily on that victory as a model for future dealings with Democrats. Ironically, the balance may hang once again with moderate Republicans, especially if even one Democratic deficit hawk on the Senate Finance Committee decides to jump Clinton's ship. If that happens, Democrats may find themselves in the same situation as in March: wooing Republicans who may be so put off at Democratic tactics that they spurn any overtures.

That would be unfortunate politically and economically. Clinton's deficit-cutting package is needed. But so is a working relationship with Republicans. The frustration of being the party out of the White House for more than than two decades should not be allowed to discount the value of a bipartisan approach to two of the biggest domestic issues facing the country.

EDITORIALS

Paraguay's First Steps

THE election of businessman Juan Carlos Wasmosy as Paraguay's next president marks a historic, if shaky, step in the country's path to democratic rule.

The May 9 vote, the first democratic elections in Paraguay's 182-year history as a nation, has been judged largely free and fair. International observers monitoring the vote say the irregularities that occurred would not have significantly changed the outcome. President-elect Wasmosy of the Colorado Party beat his nearest rival, Domingo Laino of the Authentic Radical Liberal Party, by nine points and Caballero Vargas of the National Encounter coalition by more than 12 points.

The strong showing among Wasmosy's opponents suggests that the country is making progress toward multiparty democracy: The Colorado Party has retained the presidency since 1947, despite the 1989 coup that toppled the longtime dictator, President Gen. Alfredo Stroessner.

Wasmosy faces an uphill battle to end corruption, build the economy, and improve Paraguay's human rights record. The military accepted the results, after making it clear prior to the vote that it would brook no outcome other than a Colorado win. Asked about the military, Wasmosy said, "I am going to be president and commander in chief of the armed forces." He must be held to that.

LETTERS

The Mission of International Broadcasting

In the Opinion page article "A Plan for Improving US Broadcast Efforts," April 28, the author's plan would preserve a most unsatisfactory status quo. The theory of United States international broadcasting is that one station, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, presents news about the listeners' own countries, while another voice, Voice of America, presents US and world news and US government viewpoints. People listen to international radio to get news that is more comprehensive, timely, and reliable than the news they get from their own media. This programming must be clearly audible and conveniently scheduled.

Britain spends half as much as the United States on international broadcasting, but the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World Service has more listeners than all the US radios combined. US international broadcasting falls short but costs more because its human and technical resources, scarce no matter how much tax money is poured in, are divided among competing bureaucracies.

The US government must quickly deal with the difficult business of international broadcasting in an increasingly competitive global media environment. Bickering bureaucracies must give way to a single new global broadcasting corporation able to adjust programming and media mix to suit any audience at any time. And because the audience has defined the mission of international broadcasting as that of providing credible news and information, this corporation should enjoy the autonomy it needs to do the job.

Kim Andrew Elliott *Arlington, Va.*

The US Holocaust Memorial Museum

The author's otherwise admirable description of the recently opened United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, in the article "Holocaust Memorials Send a Harsh Message: Never Forget," April 26, unwittingly reiterates a historical distortion of the German Jewish response to Nazi oppression and violence in the years 1933-1938. During this period, the author writes, "Some 40,000 Jews found sanctuary in the US, only a fraction of those who tried to come."

Sadly, most of the 525,000 German Jews elected to remain in the Third Reich after 1933, regarding emigration as too radical a step. They did so for a variety of reasons – centuries-old ties to Germany, uncertainty about Nazi Jewish policy, previous experience of anti-Semitism, old age, and inertia. True, countries such as the US kept barriers to immigration in place during the Depression years, and anti-Semitic bias was widespread in the State Department.

But equally true, the great majority of German Jews made no serious effort to leave Germany until after the Kristallnacht pogrom of Nov. 9-10, 1938. By then, fearful of a mass exodus, most nations had tightened their visa requirements, and the Jews had virtually nowhere to go.

John V. H. Dippel *Piermont, N.Y.*

The influence of TV

The editorial "Taming 'Models' of Violence," April 14, highlights a problem that is foremost in the minds of many of us in this country as well as in the United States. We know that advertisers spend vast sums of money to buy screen time in peak viewing hours because people are influenced by what they see on television.

In a street in this town, four children were seen beating a black youth lying on the ground the day after we had seen the news item of the police beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles.

While no free country would wish to apply censorship to the news, it is within the power of governments to control the channels to which franchises for entertainment are granted. At present it seems that broadcasting is considered an economic activity that must benefit the taxpayer rather than a cultural activity benefiting the viewers.

Vera Underwood *Ipswich, England*

Poetry in motion

The Home Forum page poem "Amsterdam," April 13, is proof that a good poem can often capture a subject better than any newspaper article or essay. In a few lines, the poet mirrors the mood and the atmosphere of the great city perfectly. I can actually see the barges moving in the canals and hear the pensive sound of illusive gulls. What a special, unique form of literary expression a finely crafted poem can be.

William Beyer *Belvidere, Ill.*

Letters are welcome. Only a selection can be published, subject to condensation, and none acknowledged. Please fax letters to (617) 450-2317 or address them to "Readers Write," One Norway St., Boston, MA 02115.

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